

REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending the 19th December 1908.

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II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

'a)—Police.

THE *Khulnavasi* [Khulna] of the 5th December, in a paragraph headed "Will not the wicked be punished?" refers to the case that appeared in its last issue in which it was mentioned that a Head-constable, together with a constable and a chaukidar, went to the house of one Parvati Charan Ganguli, of village Maghia, within the jurisdiction of Kachna thana, and tried to outrage the widowed daughter-in-law of the said Ganguli. The ladies being helpless, cannot bring a suit against the Head-constable, and no one among their neighbours would like to be on bad terms with the police; and in order to maintain their reputation, it behoves the authorities to enquire into the matter of their own accord, and to inflict an exemplary punishment on the culprit. It draws the attention of the Inspector-General of Police to the case.

KHULNAVASI,
Dec. 5th, 1908.

2. Referring to the notice published in the *Calcutta Gazette* announcing that the Printer's declaration of any newspaper of the same spirit as the defunct *Bande Mataram* will not be accepted, the *Jagaran* [Bagerhat] of the 6th December observes that the Printer's declaration has to be given under the law before the publication of a paper. How then can it be decided beforehand that the newspaper proposed to be published would be a paper of the type of the *Bande Mataram*?

JAGARAN,
Dec. 6th, 1908.

3. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 9th December says, that the Commissioner of Police has issued orders prohibiting the gramophone sellers from selling records containing the songs of *Bande Mataram* and *Amar Desh*, and the exciting speeches, etc., from the play of "Sirajuddowla" and other dramas. The police are seizing the master-plates of these matters. The police are further empowered to make arrests if these songs be sung in any assembly or in any public place. It then refers to the prohibition of the use of the above songs in any play by the managers of all the theatres. It then says that there are two exciting songs in the play of "Jiban Sandhya" acted at the Star Theatre, which are not passed and consequently are not to be sung. The dramas that have already been passed and are being acted, e.g. "Sirajuddowla, Mir Kasim, Chhatrapati, Durgadas, Dada-o-Didi, Nanda Kumar," and "Jiban Sandhya" will again be examined, and will be allowed to be acted only after expunging the objectionable passages and songs from them. The meaning of all this is that the historical plays will not henceforth be passed easily. The paper says that it is now circulated in England that Bengali ladies are cherishing seditious ideas; and in order to prevent the smell of sedition reaching them, the singing of *swadeshi* songs in the gramophones, that are now circulated largely, should be prohibited, and it should be seen that the plays acted in the theatres, which are frequented by ladies, contain no *swadeshi* songs or patriotic speeches. Boys can be sent to jail, but it is a difficult matter to punish ladies, and therefore the authorities have devised this plan.

SANDHYA,
Dec. 9th, 1908.

4. The *Birbhum Varta* [Birbhum] of the 12th December refers to the above prohibition as well as to the orders of the Magistrates of Mymensingh and Barisal prohibiting certain songs and actings in some operas, and remarks that instead of passing such strict orders, it would be better to win the hearts of the general public.

BIRBHUM VARTA,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

5. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 12th December writes as follows on the same subject:—

BASUMATI,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

Ibid. We do not know why Government has condemned choice national songs. In the *Statesman* have been mentioned a few names such as "my country," "Sirajudowla," etc. Has the song known as "My country" got anything to do with anarchism? The worship of Bengal, the songs of the glories of our ancestors, the heavenly fountain of the love of

our motherland, the poems of sweet hopes and the excess of these hopes, are all these calculated to promote anarchism? It is simply superfluous on our part to say that we are not only taken aback, but very much aggrieved to hear this news.

HOWRAH HITAIKHI,
Dec. 13th, 1908.

6. The *Howrah Hitaiishi* [Howrah] of the 12th December comments as follows on the above prohibition :—

Prohibition of "national" songs
in Calcutta.

The day for discussing the justice or injustice, the propriety or impropriety of this order is perhaps gone, and so we do not want to bother ourselves with it. But the *Bande Mataram* song has come to be the national anthem of India and its spirit has been infused into the very soul of all people young and old. It is not rare to find sucking babies lisping out this song and the song called *Amar Des*. It is impossible to drive out these two songs, which excite the highest feelings of patriotism and religion, unless the very hearts of the people are torn out. If the Sirkar Bahadur has approved of this order of the Commissioner of Police, we would respectfully like to know according to what British law or policy pure patriotism or national spirit or religious feeling is considered to be a sin? According to what English dictionary is the uttering of the mother's name, or the contemplation of the mother's image, or the addressing of one's mother-country as one's mother, taken to be high treason? According to what knowledge or science of the West is the recapitulation of the transcendental annals of the ancestors of a people considered to be an eye-sore to the officials? In the name of British statesmanship, in the name of the Queen's Proclamation, in the name of justice and virtue, we implore the new Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to revoke the order. We may at the same time say that the frowns of the police will never be able to strike terror into the heart of any right thinking person and compel him to desist from singing these songs. All attempts to destroy the people's patriotism and national spirit or to compel them by force to give up singing patriotic songs or staging patriotic plays are bound to be in vain. Even if a nation be bound in a thousand ways in the chains of subjection and is gagged and silenced it can never put up with such an insult offered to its national spirit or its national songs. The fear of punishment or jail can never make a man devoted or obedient, for nothing can make a man forget the debt of gratitude he owes to his mother or his mother-country. We ask the people to adopt every lawful means for protecting their rightful interest, for patriotism and religion are dearer to us than our lives.

(b)—Working of the Courts.

SANJIVANI,
Dec. 10th, 1908.

7. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 10th December, referring to the retirement of Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitter,

Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitter.

says :—

Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitter will retire from Government service from Thursday next, in accordance with a rule that High Court Judges shall retire on attaining the age of sixty. The High Court becomes weak by his retirement. He was one of the best of those through whom the High Court was able to maintain its prestige. It is a matter of great regret that he is obliged to retire, though he was feared by delinquents. Though sixty years old, he retires full of the energy and strength of youth, and ought to have been retained on the High Court Bench; but in this world one cannot always do what one ought to do. We learn that the pleaders of the mufassal and the High Court will give him an address for the soundness of his decisions and his fearlessness.

BASUMATI,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

8. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 12th December remarks as follows on the same subject :—

Ibid.

We could hardly find any other Judge equally competent, impartial and independent throughout India. The Government

has not granted him an extension of service. The irreparable loss which the High Court Bench has sustained by the retirement of Mr. Justice Mitter cannot be easily repaired. The High Court Bench will not remain vacant, but the highest tribunal in India has really lost its most valuable gem in being deprived of the credit it had in consequence of the impartial judgment of Mr. Justice Mitter. We don't really understand the reason why Lord Minto and Lord Morley did not grant him an extension when India was in such a crisis.

9. Referring to the commitment of three accused persons in the Midnapore case to the Court of Sessions, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 11th December observes that many people

The Midnapore case.

are of opinion that it would be better if the trial of the three accused took place in a Court other than that of the District Judge of Midnapore. The paper thinks this is a very reasonable proposal. It is proper to make such arrangements as will admit of no doubt as to the impartial character of the trial. It is not proper that the trial of a case in which the Civilian Magistrate is directly concerned should be held by a local Civilian Judge.

10. Referring to the sentence of 18 months' imprisonment passed on one

Punishment of a pamphleteer.

Hira Lal Sen in Eastern Bengal for writing an inflammatory pamphlet named "Hunkar," the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 1st December, while pointing out that the author, was not forgiven even when he apologised, observes as follows:—

In Ireland during her troubled days friendly warnings used to be given to inflammatory writers and punishments in very rare cases. Here the authors are not let off even after tendering an apology. Besides the law of this country is so subtle, that even the best lawyers find themselves at a loss to say whether an article is inflammatory or not.

HITAVADI.
Dec. 11th, 1908.

BHARAT MITRA.
Dec. 1st, 1908.

(c)—Jails.

11. Referring to the mutiny of the prisoners in the Coimbatore Jail the

Coimbatore Jail mutiny.

Bharat Mitra [Calcutta] of the 12th December observes that, as it appears from the deposition of Mr. Chidambaram Pillay in the case that the treatment by the Jail authorities is apt to excite the worst passions of the prisoners, it is advisable that a warning should be conveyed to the Jail authorities too.

12. In giving a substance of the deposition by the political prisoner

Mr. Pillay's deposition in the Coimbatore Jail riot case.

Mr. Chidambaram Pillay on the 3rd and 4th of December in the Coimbatore Jail riot case, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 14th December asks:—"What has been the fruit of Mr. Pillay's evidence then?"

BHARAT MITRA.
Dec. 12th, 1908.

HINDI BANGAVASI.
Dec. 14th, 1908.

(d)—Education.

13. The *Shiksha* [Bankipore] of the 3rd December observes that as there

A Bihari Head-master.

is a great need of Bihari Head-masters in the Zilla Schools of Bihar, the Biharis will be exceedingly glad to hear that Babu Tulsi Prasad now officiating as the Head-master of the Arrah Zilla School has been made permanent in the post as he is managing the school very successfully.

14. The following is a full translation of an article under the heading,

Discipline of boys.

"Discipline of boys" which appears in the *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 10th December:—

Mr. Kuchler, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, makes in his Annual Report a reference to the behaviour of the students of schools and colleges in this province. He says that the boys are not now polite and obedient as before, and do not behave towards their teachers as respectfully as they used to do before. Almost all the Divisional Inspectors of Schools have expressed a similar view. The authorities have become restless with anxiety as to how the boys may be again brought under control and taught to be well-behaved.

May we ask, why should the boys be obedient to the Professors of this country? What qualifications have you got by virtue of which you can make

S 'IKSHA.
Dec. 3rd, 1908.

SANDHYA.
Dec. 10th, 1908.

the boys remain under your control? We also used to read in school and college at one time, we also read under great Professors. Those Professors used to look upon us as their own children. It is this Mr. Prothero who on one occasion, when a friend of ours fell ill, went to see him at his lodgings. Messrs. Küchler and James were at one time both of them Professors in the Patna College. Have they forgotten all about the way in which Principal Ewbank used to treat his pupils? Whenever any student in our lodgings was short of money Mr. Ewbank would give him a loan. Once while we were writing answers during an examination in the college Mr. Ewbank was standing beside us with a glass of milk in hand. If any student fainted away owing to excessive heat the Professors would carry him to their own room. Even the smallest pin-prick in our feet would hurt our Professors to the quick. We used to play with them, tell one another stories and hustle one another in sport. If the Principal or a Professor fell ill, the boys would give up everything and go and nurse him. It is because the relations between the Professors and the students were those of father and son, that the boys were very polite in those days. We also were boisterous to no inconsiderable degree, but every one used to bear with us, all faults and foibles were in a way pardonable in us.

What a contrast between those times and these! What a difference between the days of liberal-minded Professors like Elliot, McCann, Ewbank, McCrindle, Hill, Paulson, Edwards, Mowat and others and these days! It is like the difference that is between Heaven and Hell. Why should we be obedient to you if you are not after our own heart? Nobody can distinguish who are his own and who are not better than a boy can do. The Bengali still retains the same soft heart, the same grateful nature, the same politeness, and the same hankering for affectionate treatment as he had of old. Become again what you were before, and our boys will also do the same. The course of affection is downward. So if the Professors and teachers in your Education Department learn to love the boys and to be affectionate towards them, you will find that Bengali boys who seek education will become the servants of your servants.

While on one side there are the rulers of the land almost bursting with insolence and pride, on the other there is an absence in the Education Department of amiable and sweet-tongued and highly learned men like Tawney, Clarke, Mann, and Elliot. Consequently both the boys and their parents have turned against you. You will hate Bengali boys at heart and allow this spirit of hatred and contempt to be manifested in your treatment with them, and you expect that the boys will look upon you with feelings of love. Such an unnatural thing cannot take place nor has taken place in any country. The province of Bengal is not outside of India or of the world either. Consequently it is due to the fault there is in your behaviour that the boys have turned against you.

You do not know how to perform your duty; how can you then blame the boys? Boys will be boisterous, naughty, devoid of all sense of right and wrong, spoilt, and mischievous—all this is indeed in their very nature. This nature cannot be changed and ought not to be changed. You are the preceptor and your competence lies in bringing the boys under control and making them learned. If by reason of any defect in your manipulation or of any viciousness in your inclinations or innate qualities you make the boys up into so many monkeys, and those boys at last bite your nose, how can you howl and want to kill boys in bands? Man never does such a thing. If one hears the preceptor slandering his pupils, the disgrace is the preceptor's and not of the pupils.

We have said in a previous article that Bengali boys do not go to English schools and colleges in search of learning. It is for learning to read and write English, that they pay fees for receiving English education. With the help of this education they want to earn money and to spend their days in luxury. So long as Bengali boys and the Bengali community entertain these ideas about English education, so long shall you never be able to keep the boys under restraint as you like, no matter how severe you make your laws and regulations. Either keep the boys obedient to you by sending out Professors who are worthy of being called men, or change the system of

education. Let us tell you one thing. Put an end to all this fuss of M.A., B.A. and P.R.S. examinations, and welcome *tols* and *Chatuspatis* back again. Let boys begin their English education after obtaining the diploma of Kavyatirtha, and go on passing other examinations. Afterwards give them appointments in your service, according as they deserve. Establish Madrasas and Muktabas for Muhammadans, and teach them English after they obtain the degree of Maulvi, and give them appointments afterwards. Let only those who want to study Science learn English all along, but nobody else. If you do this, you can get rid of all troubles, and we also can have peace.

It is not only English Professors who have gone bad, but school-masters also are not now what they used to be before. Teachers like Babus Ramtanu Lahiri, Bireswar Chatterjee, Bholanath Pal, Chandi Banerjee, Srikrishna Chatterjee, Sivchandra Some, Veni Deand Tarapada Ghosal are now seen no more. These teachers never used to flog their pupils or fine them—a simple frowning was enough; as soon as they came up and stood where the boys were having any boisterous games, everything would be quiet. Only a frown from Bhawani master would strike terror into our hearts; we used to feel mortally grieved if Tripura master would only call us "stupid." Even now whenever we meet these old teachers, our head is bowed of itself. They also love us still as their own sons. The teachers of those days did not use to teach their boys only in schools, but used to go about visiting them in their homes. The manner and behaviour of the boys were also of a different sort.

15. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 10th December, after mentioning the facts that the Central College of Calcutta will henceforth be allowed to send up candidates only for the Intermediate Examination in Arts instead of up to the B.A. examination as it had hitherto been doing, and that the Pramatha Monmatha College of Tangail will henceforth be debarred from imparting instruction in Science, says that the aim of the Calcutta University now-a-days is to destroy learning instead of improving it, as it was wont to do in the past. How learning is being improved!

16. Referring to the recent resolution of the University of Calcutta disaffiliating the Law classes attached to the Colleges in Bihar, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 10th December has the following:—

Our idea that the Government, being now-a-days fully convinced that the lawyers are the root-cause of the present unrest in the country, has thought it advisable to lay the axe at their feet, has unfortunately proved to be too true. Far from granting any increased powers to the truly loyal subjects in the administration of the country and opening the doors to higher education still wider, the Government has been doing the very reverse. It is exceedingly painful to find that the new bolt of Government's anger has been hurled down on the Bihari students who are still backward in education. We had hoped that Government would pay greater attention towards the education of the Biharis who led the way in their demonstrations of loyalty to Government; but we have been sorely disappointed to see them the victims of the terrible blow of the new rules.

17. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 10th December refers to the debate at the Senate meeting of the Calcutta University following on the motions of Babus Golap Chandra Sastri and Deva Prosad Sarvadikari supported by the Rev. Mr. Mitchel, Moulvi Samsoul Huda, Messrs. Cunningham, Kuchler and Earle and Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, for the disaffiliation of the law classes in connection with the Tez Narayan College at Bhagalpur, the National college at Bankipur and the Midnapore College. Mr A. Chowdhuri supported by the Advocate-General Mr. Sinaha and Drs. Gurudas Banerji and Rash Behari Ghosh, was for giving to the law colleges opportunity for bringing their efficiency up to the required standard. The law colleges were disaffiliated on the majority being on the side of the movers of the motion. It then says, that in the course of the debate Dr. Mukerji lost his temper and Mr. Chowdhuri was obliged to ask him not to lose his temper. A passage at arms also took place between Mr. Cunningham and Dr. Ghose, who had said that people would think that the University was

SANJIVANI,
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bent on killing the law colleges. Dr. Ghose asked Mr. Cunningham to stop as he could also be offensive. Mr. Earle said, that the Beharis did not want to keep a law class at the Bhagalpur College. The journal then adds:—

On seeing his behaviour on that day, we became firmly convinced that Dr. Ashutosh Mukerji has become a Lord Curzon in the University. Dr. Mukerji did not listen to the request of the pleaders of various places of Bengal to retain the law colleges, and he treated with pride and scorn the precious advice of his teacher, Dr. Gurudas Banerji and those of Mr. S. P. Sinha and Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, and his action is calculated to put obstacles in the way of Bengalis becoming lawyers. Dr. Mukerji's desire is to kill all other law colleges and to create three such colleges: one at Calcutta, and the other two at Dacca and Bankipur. To ask the moffussil colleges to buy law books at a cost of Rs. 10,000, is the same as killing them, and by this pretence Dr. Mukerji is depriving Bengalis of the means of earning their livelihood as well as of becoming strong. How many among our distinguished lawyers possess such a big library? And even, if the colleges be provided with Rs. 10,000 worth of law books, how many students would be able to use them?

Dr. Mukerji says, that the law colleges must be made perfect or be closed. Well, at the M. A. examination held the other day some mistakes crept into the question papers in Persian and the candidates were called on to be examined again. Dr. Mukerji could not make the question papers perfect, and is he to be dismissed for this fault, or is the University to be closed? Many mistakes have crept into the question papers at the Supplementary F. A. and B. A. examinations, and is Dr. Mukerji going to lose his appointment for this?

The lawyers are at the root of every good agitation and the Bengalis would lose their strength if their number be diminished, and is Dr. Mukerji's action to help it proper?

SANDHYA,
Dec. 10th, 1908.

18. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 10th December, observes, that the

Disaffiliation of law classes.

Government is in a fix. It cannot altogether abolish legal education for then there would be less sale of court-fee stamps. On the other hand the lawyers are the root of all evil. They are the root of the Congress and head of *swadeshi* and boycott. All evil will disappear with this class of men. A love song has it:—

"My accursed eyes have been my undoing."

Similarly your behaviour, Englishman, leads us to think;—

It is accursed money that has undone you.

A fifteen and-half anna portion of Englishmen are opposed to *swadeshi* and boycott, for they cause pecuniary loss to them and cripple their trade. You can not destroy the Vakils as a class simply because that will cause pecuniary loss; while you do not dare to keep them. It will not be a difficult task to effect your purpose through the instrumentality of Asutosh. But in this affair, Englishmen, your ambition is destined to be thwarted.

HITAVADI,
Dec. 11th, 1908.

19. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 11th December in a leading article under the heading "University scandal" writes as follows:—

University scandal.

When the Syndicate of the Calcutta University made the proposal of disaffiliating the law-classes of the Tej Narain Jubilee College, Behar National College and the Midnapore College protests were heard from all parts of the country. The people of the country said that this action of the University was improper and despotic. We did not fail to enter our protest in due time. Having regard to these protests we expected that the members of the syndicate before arriving at a definite decision would calmly think over the matter and try to maintain the prestige of the University by removing the doubts and apprehensions in the public mind. But we have been disappointed. At last Saturday's meeting of the Senate the proposal was accepted by a majority of votes.

Lord Curzon, the father of the new University regulations, felt pride in ignoring public opinion. The special feature of his administration was to trample public opinion. Though it is somewhat natural that the authorities of a University newly constituted in accordance with the rules framed by Lord Curzon should follow his method of action, still we did not think that to expect justice at the hands of the learned men of the University would be as futile as to hope for water in a desert.

In fact we did not pray the University for any favour, but prayed for justice. We did not oppose the new rules framed by the University Pandits (*lit.*, members of the Syndicate). We opposed despotism. We would not have made up our mind to say anything on this question if we had known that the members of the Syndicate had no intention of acting up to their own words but had a different object in view. We could not think so and that is why we prayed for justice. We would not have said anything if we had known that there would be destruction in the name of reform.

It seems clear from a careful examination of the scandalous incidents of last Saturday's Senate meeting that the authorities left nothing undone to have the proposal of the Syndicate accepted by the meeting of the Senate. Our readers may recollect that when the late Babu Nalin Behari Sirkar tried to prove the failure of the new Municipal Act at a meeting of the Municipality, no Municipal Commissioner was absent on that day. Even those members who do not usually attend any meeting were present at that day's meeting to support Government. Similarly, for what reason we know not, at last Saturday's meeting of the Senate all the members were present.

Though the presence of all the members was somewhat striking there is nothing objectionable in it, and therefore we need not say anything on the point. But we cannot help saying a few words in connection with the manner of discussion and the attitude of the Vice-Chancellor, the Director of Public Instruction and one or two other professor-members of the Senate.

According to the new rules, the University Inspector, Mr. Sen inspected the Tej Narain Jubilee College and other colleges. He reported that the arrangements for imparting legal education in the Tej Narain Jubilee College, Bihar National College and Midnapore College were unsatisfactory. Under instructions from the University, Mr. Sen wrote to the authorities of those Colleges that if they failed to impart legal education in accordance with the newly framed rules of the University the law classes of their Colleges would be disaffiliated. The authorities of the Midnapore and Bihar National Colleges remained silent over the matter, but those of the Tej Narain Jubilee College enquired of the University what amount was necessary for equipment of their law library and for making other improvements that would satisfy the University and stated that on hearing from the latter they were prepared to improve their law classes according to University requirements. Mr. Sen in reply communicated to the College authorities that Rs. 10,000 would satisfy the requirements. The College authorities intimated that they were prepared to spend Rs. 2,000 for the present but unable to spend Rs. 10,000. Probably communications between the parties ceased afterwards. Finally came the proposal from the Syndicate for the disaffiliation of the law classes and the acceptance of that proposal by the Senate.

The affair stands thus. Let us say what the Vice-Chancellor of the University Dr. Asutosh Saraswati said in framing the new rules in question. He said it would be a mistake to think that the University by establishing a model law college wanted to monopolise legal education. According to new rules every college would be inspected and their utility and capacity for imparting legal education examined. Every college would be given an opportunity for explaining their position and for introducing improvements. In the matter of imparting education no hard and fast conditions would be imposed. And therefore all colleges would have the opportunity to come up to the standard desired by the University. These were the words of Dr. Asutosh Saraswati.

Let our readers compare these words with his method of action. The authorities of the Tej Narain Jubilee College explained their position, but were they given an opportunity for introducing improvements? And was it not improper to ask for an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 at once. These who are aware of the position of private colleges in this country must recognise how difficult it is for the authorities of those colleges to spend Rs. 10,000 at once. The authorities of the Tej Narain Jubilee College were willing to spend Rs. 2,000 and this would have resulted in some improvement. It would have been consistent with the words of the Vice-Chancellor if the authorities of the Tej Narain Jubilee College were given an opportunity to come up to the standard desired by the University. Is it not the height of despotism to

use the executioner's sword, simply because the authorities of the college could not spend Rs. 10,000 at once? Then where was the opportunity give for improvement?

However we have a mind to say a few words in connection with the discussion of the question at the Senate Meeting. The members of the Senate did not know anything of the communications between the University Inspector and the authorities of the Tej Narain College. And yet the final order was placed before them for acceptance. Doctor Saraswati was all wrathful when Mr. A. Choudhury Bar-at-law began to discuss the question. The gist of what Mr. Choudhury said is that when the members of the Senate did not know anything of the matter they could not come to a definite decision in one day. He further said that let the matter be postponed for the present. Besides when the authorities of the Tej Narain College were willing to spend Rs. 2,000 they should be given time. It is needless to add that Mr. A. Choudhury's proposal was a very reasonable one. Mr. S. P. Sinha, Advocate-General of Bengal, supported the proposal of Mr. A. Choudhury. Sir Gurudas Banerjee said that the action of the Senate was not reasonable and that it was desirable that the Senate should calmly think over the matter before coming to a decision. Doctor Rashbehari Ghose said that when the disaffiliation would take place in June next it would be better to postpone the final discussion of the question and that because any high handedness in this matter would be taken as if it was the intention of the University to destroy other Law Colleges. Professor Cunningham was all wrathful when Dr. Ghose made these reasonable observations. The Professor went to the length of saying that when people speak without justification they speak of what other people would say. Dr. Ghose silenced Mr. Cunningham by a suitable retort.

Let our readers hear the result of the reasonable proposal made by Mr. A. Choudhury, Sir Gurudas Banerjee and Doctor Rashbehari Ghose. Only eleven members voted in their favour while 59 voted against them. It was a triumph for the University. The law classes of the Tej Narain and two other colleges have been disaffiliated. We were under the impression that learned men are not honoured in an assembly of illiterate men. But we now find that even in the assembly of the Saraswatis (learned men), of the University learned men meet with a similar fate.

In the course of the discussion the Director of Public Instruction let out a secret. He stated that though the law classes of the Tej Narain Jubilee College was being disaffiliated the Government had decided to establish a model law college at Bankipore. Alas, it is to make the path of the proposed college smooth that the step has been taken? If after this people say that the intention of the University is not to reform but to destroy, that at the present time lawyers have become an eye-sore to the Government and that is why the authorities are bent upon restricting legal education and that the word reform has no meaning at all, will that be taken as a fault on their part? The incidents of last Saturday's meeting of the Senate have made us hang down our heads with shame. It would have been dignified on the part of the members of the Senate if they had put aside tactics and done openly what they have done.

NAYAK,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

20. Referring to the acrimonious discussion in the meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University held on Saturday last regarding the abolition of certain Law Colleges in Bengal, the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 12th December observes that those who presume to set at nought the recommendations of Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh in the matter of the teaching of law in India, must be pronounced to be a little too much impudent.

NAYAK,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

21. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 12th December contains the following:—

Ibid.

It is you yourselves who excite boils. If Bengal had not been partitioned, these incidents would never have taken place. Again, you have determined to abolish the law classes; a row will be created on all sides, and people will say all manner of things. You will not relish the remarks, and as you are powerful you will naturally utter angry words. If afterwards a heavy brick be thrown instead of a brickbat, you would then raise a howl and train cannon and muskets on the people. Is it absolutely

necessary to excite boils only for the sake of the worthless pleasure of scratching? Law is a means of earning livelihood, and it would be unreasonable to expect every pleader to be a Dr. Rashbehari or Sir Gurudas? The fact is that if a quarrel be provoked on this subject, trouble must follow.

22. The *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 12th December writes:—

HOWRAH HITAIISHI,
Dec. 5th, 1908.

Disaffiliation of three Law Colleges.

The attitude of destruction which the authorities of the Calcutta University have taken up in order to extirpate Law Colleges, is not unknown to our readers. The present Vice-Chancellor or overlord of the Calcutta University—the Hon'ble Dr. Ashutosh Saraswati, that devout disciple of Lord Curzon—has managed by divers extraordinary ways to make the path of high education very narrow and thorny. But even this has not given him satisfaction and he has now got another weapon ready to destroy legal education. The authorities of the Calcutta University cannot bear to see poor men pursuing their legal studies in the face of the greatest difficulties and qualifying themselves for high posts under the Government. Hence the lords are trying their best to make legal education very expensive, and to kill the existing Law Colleges. We never had any idea that Dr. Ashtosh and his colleagues could act in such a high-handed way, and destroy some Law Colleges without even giving them an opportunity for bringing themselves up to the standard which the University had fixed for them. But on Saturday the 5th December the motion for the disaffiliation of three Law Colleges was carried by a large majority, a number of Fellows, nominated, elected, and of the "*Ap-ke-waste*" order siding with Dr. Asutosh. These colleges have not been given a trial, nor has any definite charge been laid against them. It is only on the strength of the University Inspector's report that they have been condemned and killed. Who shall now say that Dr. Asutosh will not as a High Court Judge sentence a man to death without giving him any opportunity to enter into his own defence, but relying solely on the report which the police may make against him? Indeed, the act committed by Dr. Asutosh and his colleagues has taken the public by surprise. But is it all a conspiracy for blocking up the path of legal education, or is it a covert plan for destroying private law colleges and thus forcing up the number of students in the proposed Central Law College? Some say that Dr. Asutosh is abusing the power he has got from the Sirkar, and is currying favour with the authorities so as to smooth his entry into the Imperial Legislative Council as the Law Member. Some, again, say that Babu Golap Chandra Sastri has come over to Dr. Asutosh's side induced by the bait of the Principal of the proposed Central Law College, and that many "*Ap-ke-waste*" Fellows are siding with Dr. Asutosh in the hope of being favoured with high posts. We do not want to say anything regarding the truth or otherwise of all these rumours. We would ask all patriots to start a strong and widespread agitation against this mischief done by Dr. Asutosh and his followers and to undo this evil conspiracy against legal education.

Ibid.

23. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 12th December says as follows:—

BASUMATI,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

Srijut Guru Das Banerjee, Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saroda Charan Mitter and Mr. A. Choudhuri protested against this disaffiliation, but they were outvoted by a majority of 59 votes. Mr. Justice Mukerji has now got his object achieved. There is now a complete bar to the study of law in Bengal. On that day several members who were as senior to him in age as his own father was, were very much aggrieved at the conduct of and the attitude taken up by Mr. Mukerji. Perhaps he has forgotten that the Fellows, though nothing more than flatterers and beggars of his grace yet were not his menial servants. He has so far forgotten himself that he glories and delights in insulting those who deserve honour. The power which has been conferred on him by the Government is neither his monopoly nor everlasting. Dr. Mukerji has become almost blind with pride owing to the dignity and honour attached to his post and he on this occasion not only made himself ridiculous but directly insulted the members of the Syndicate. The Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Mr. A. Choudhuri and others were indeed very much disgusted at this over-bearing conduct of his. Mr. Justice Saroda Chandra Mitter just after returning home that very night did send in his resignation of the membership of the Syndicate.

Several other Fellows have determined to give up their connection with it. Sir Guroo Das Banerji, who always plays the coquette, is dissuading others from tendering their resignations. All this is not at all to the welfare of the University. The Government having invested an undeserving man with unrestricted powers has sealed the fate of the University. Still there is a chance of remedying these evils. We warn the Government while there is yet time for the welfare of the country and the University, to hold tight the reins of the Vice-Chancellor.

(f)—Question affecting the land.

DAINIK CHANDRIKA.
Dec. 11th, 1908.

The indigo dispute.

21. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 11th December says:—

We shall be glad to hear of some amicable settlement of the indigo dispute at Bettiah. The Indigo-planters should soothe and pacify themselves. When Mr. Gourlay, the Director of Agricultural Bank and the Co-operative Societies, was deputed to make a full inquiry into the Bettiah troubles, we entertained every hope that he would follow in the foot-steps of Ashley Eden and others. When Sir Edward Baker took charge of the government of Bengal, we were quite sanguine that for the welfare of the Indigo-planters of Bihar, Sir John Peter Grant had re-appeared in Bengal. If Sir Edward Baker is really Sir Peter Grant *redivivus* then it is surely for the welfare of Bengal, Bihar, North Bihar, as well as for the peace and prosperity of the Indigo-planters.

We trust and believe that our contemporary the *Englishman* and other contemporaries of a similar nature and temperament will learn a lesson at the very outset of Sir Edward Baker's administration, similar to that they had to learn ultimately during Sir Peter Grant's administration of the Province.

22. The following is a full translation of a communicated article published in the *Nihar* [Contai] of the 10th December:—

NIHAR,
Dec. 15th, 1908.

The Midnapore survey and settlement operations.

The settlement operations in Midnapore.

The settlement operations in Midnapore commenced in 1904 and the public harassment caused thereby has been the greatest imaginable. First came the survey, then the kharapuri, then the attestation, then the work under section 103, then the rectification of mistakes, and last of all the operations under section 104 commenced, and have come to a close at certain places. Being engaged in these six kinds of work, the tenants have got ample opportunities of tasting the sweets of the survey operations.

At some places the notice was secretly served and the tenant knew nothing of it. All the same, the tenants were fined and at particular places a double fine of Rs. 1-8 was also realised. In the notice issued it was mentioned that attendance was required at 10 A.M., although it was actually served at 1 P.M. or 2 P.M. on the day fixed, so that the tenant was fined on account of failure to attend. During the rains their sufferings knew no end. On dark nights while it was raining heavily, the work in the settlement camp went on uninterruptedly till 12, on the other hand, nobody had time to think of the condition of the miry roads in the mufassal. Who else can understand that condition except those possessed of actual experience?

There is nothing certain in the survey. In some cases somebody's *dhosa* land was converted into *bastu* land, some one's tank was made *dhosa aul* land. In some instances the entire plot containing eight cottas of land was assessed as *bastu* land, simply because a house measuring five cubits stood on it, though there was *ghola* on one's land, yet the plan showed no *ghola* so that if a neighbouring tenant should break through the *ghola*, there would be no means of preventing it. Somebody's ancestral *bahuli* has been converted into *devottar mal* and assessed as such; on the other hand some one's *mal* land has been converted into *devottar* land, and so has become lakheraj land. It is impossible to cite all such instances of irregularity. Owing to various cause

similar to those mentioned above, the tenants have been much harassed through paying the assessor's fees, but the results obtained have been comparatively unimportant.

At various places rent cases are being heard under section 104. Government has fixed the rent at an enhanced rate of annas three per rupee. For various reasons the tenants have raised the objection that Government has no power to levy such an enhanced rate under the law, but the revenue officers have absolutely rejected that objection. They have thus caused the dates of filing objection of many villagers to pass away. Some officers have rejected the objections after first accepting them without giving them a hearing. The authorities in certain camps have themselves given orders not to accept such objections and have issued notices. Under the law these objections can be filed; why then such objections should be prohibited nobody knows. Do they apprehend that if these objections be allowed many defects in their work would be exposed making it difficult at last to save the settlement records? Is it this knowledge which makes them careful beforehand? We do not think that Government would not hear the objections of the tenants according to law and prevent them from filing objections. Nobody knows whether the settlement officer has prevented the tenants from filing objections of his own accord or under Government orders. We pray that the authorities may be pleased to withdraw the said order and permit the tenants to file objections according to law.

(g)—*Railways and Communications including Canals and Irrigation.*

26. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 11th December has the following over the signature of "inhabitants of Hodal Narainpur":—

Damodar embankment.

HITAVADI,
Dec. 11th, 1908.

In the Bengali year 1295, the Damodar embankment near Hodal Narainpur and other villages, within the jurisdiction of police-station Sonamukhi, district Bankura, was washed away, and a new branch stream was formed which joined the river Sali. Owing to the check in the regular flow of this streamlet lands of 22 villages, including Hodal Narainpur, are submerged in water, and the condition of the people has been such as beggars description. Many people leaving their wives and children to starve, have taken to service and hardly get enough to keep body and soul together. Some have left their villages, while others get their meals at intervals of a couple of days or more. In these circumstances the misery of the people knows no bounds. The Deputy Magistrate of the Vishnupur subdivision was appealed to, and he having made several inquiries, held out hopes of redressing the grievance. He sent an Amin for measuring embankment lands. When the Amin finished measuring the embankment lands, the people were anxious about the result of his measurement. They were told that as the rainy season was near at hand, nothing could be done then, and that the construction of the embankment would be undertaken after the rainy season. We have yet to learn what has been the result afterwards. The condition of the people of the villages was brought to the notice of the Government in the Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghose, and the Hon'ble Mr. Inglis promised an inquiry into the matter. But up till now nothing is known about the inquiry. The Divisional Commissioner was also addressed on the subject, and the people are very anxious to know his opinion in the matter. Everybody hopes that if the Commissioner makes a personal inquiry into the matter and sees the miserable condition of the people with his own eyes, he may apply a remedy. This year's flood has destroyed crops to such an extent that many will die of starvation. Now there is no other means of safety, save and except Government help. Will not the Government save us from this dire starvation?

(h)—*General.*

27. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 9th December writes:—

Sir Edward Baker.

We said that as soon as Sir Edward Baker would sit on the *musnud* of Bengal, most of the troubles would pass away. We further said that we would take Sir Edward

SANDHYA,
Dec. 9th, 1908.

Baker through the streets of Calcutta unattended by any policeman, and there would be no trouble at all. Before our taking the Lieutenant-Governor through the streets of the town, His Honour himself has passed along them without the least fear. It then goes on to refer several incidents concerning Sir Edward Baker:—(1) At an "At Home" in Belvedere the Lieutenant-Governor noticed a detective officer in plain dress moving about in the gardens and fields, and was satisfied of his identity from a newspaper reporter. Immediately the Private Secretary, Mr. Allanson, went to the detective officer and asked him to leave the place. The detective officer was reluctant to do so, as he was ordered to be on duty there by the Commissioner of Police. On this Mr. Allanson directed him to leave at once as it was the order of the Lieutenant-Governor, and to tell the Commissioner of Police what he had to say. (2) The Lieutenant-Governor went to inspect the Secretariat offices, but had ordered beforehand that no police arrangements should be made. On the Commissioner of Police insisting on making police arrangements, His Honour laughed at the idea and said that he had passed half of his life in Bengal and knew the Bengalis well, who in their turn knew him well. One should be afraid of an evil only if one has committed a wrong. His Honour passed through the Secretariat offices attended only by his European body-guard, called the old *chaprassi*, duffries, clerks and others and enquired about their welfare. His Honour spoke to all with a smiling countenance. All were pleased with the Lieutenant-Governor's attitude of love towards them. (3) Yesterday Sir Edward Baker visited the Medical College attended by a plainly dressed body-guard. There was no special police arrangements, but one or two detective officers in plain dress were present outside the College premises. Dr. Lukis, the Principal of the College, was of opinion that the Police officers ought to have been with their uniforms on. His Honour inspected every place and enquired of two of the students, Brojendra Ganguli and P. C. Roy, as to what they intended to do after passing the examination. Ganguli signified his intention of trying to secure a Government post, and the Lieutenant-Governor asked Dr. Lukis about them, who praised them.

Everybody has been greatly pleased. Such a ruler will not be to the liking of the fishwoman of Kailaghat. Even now she has begun to sing otherwise. The good treatment of Sir Edward Baker will be to the liking of many after the Fraser régime. Our prayer is the same as before, namely, that the Lieutenant-Governor may treat us well and listen to what we have to say. We want nothing more than this.

SRI SRI VISHNU-
PRIYA-O-ANANDA
BASAR PATRIKA,
Dec. 10th, 1908.

28. With reference to the assumption of the office of Lieutenant-Governor by Sir Edward Baker, the *Sri Sri Vishnupriya-o-Ananda Basar Patrika*, [Calcutta] of the 10th December

observes that the advent of the new Lieutenant-Governor has brought hope to the mind of the people of the province; and all those who are acquainted with His Honour know that he is a liberal-minded administrator. A policy which is other than straightforward, has no place in his mind.

Speaking of Sir Andrew Fraser, the paper says, that it is true that he possessed many good qualities, but under him the police were allowed undue advantage. If the all-powerful rulers of the vast British Empire in India be moved to impatience and terrified by the actions of a handful of anarchist boys and forget the grave responsibilities of government, no sensible person will be able to commend their statesmanship.

Referring to Sir Edward Baker's courtesy in shaking hands with certain Bengali clerks, the paper says that it does not accept this as a striking example of showing special courtesy. It is for other reasons that the paper feels happy at Sir Edward's assuming charge of the administration of Bengal at the present juncture.

The paper is very hard upon the police and justifies its opinion by citing the Midnapur case as an example of police demoralisation. It takes exception to Mr. Weston's conduct in taking police statements as gospel truths.

The writer in conclusion states that, in Europe, no sooner thoughtful and talented men find anything like highhandedness on the part of the police than they draw the attention of their Government by strong protests to the evil. Even savants like Herbert Spencer had to write against the police. The writer hopes that Sir Edward Baker will remedy the evil of police domination.

29. Referring to Sir Edward Baker's cordial reply to the address given by the Municipal Members as well as by the descendants of Tipu Sultan, and to Lady Baker's kind visits paid to the female members of Sir Chandra Madhab Ghosh and Dr. Asutosh Mukerji, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 12th December 1908, observes that if His Honour and Lady Baker continue in their policy of thus making friends with the people they will undoubtedly win their hearts and the result would be good.

BHARAT MITRA
Dec. 12th, 1908.

30. Referring to the speech delivered by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces at the Darbar held at Nagpur on the 30th November last, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 10th December has the following :—

HITVARTA 4,
Decr. 10th, 1908.

The Nagpur Darbar speech. The speech is full to the brim with deceptive notions. Every line of the speech conveys a deep hatred of its author towards the political agitators. Besides, it betrays ignorance as to the rights and privileges of the rulers and the ruled which have received the approval of western politics. Although Mr. Craddock is a man of sound knowledge, and to some extent popular too, but prejudice has blinded him altogether. Hence it is that he talked a good deal of nonsense on that day. We regret that a ruler of a Province should have expressed himself in this way. It is with regret that we criticise his speech for the effect of keeping silent would be bad.

In the very beginning Mr. Craddock told the Darbaris with pride that 'they never had the guarantee to what one Sovereign gave his successor would not take away'. In this he has only exhibited his peculiar knowledge of history. This knowledge of his has been of no use to him. The gifts of the ancient rulers were never taken away; they were rather more certain than the gifts of the present times. The gifts of the old Hindu and Muhammadan rulers were enjoyed not only during their respective rules, but are being enjoyed up to the present day. Of course the present rulers have a hand in it. If there had been no stability in what the ancient rulers gave, Mr. Craddock would not have reigned at Nagpur. The East India Company would have to pack off bag and baggage from this country. Ancient rulers did confiscate the property of private individuals with whom they were displeased, but those times were not so civilised. The English also, who boast of their civilisation, are doing the very same thing when angry. The confiscation of the *Bande Mataram* Press is an instance of this. True, that in the British rule no one can take away another's property by force, but there is no need of it to-day as the people have no property at all. We admit that loyalty is the duty of the faithful subjects. The Indians are loyal without exception. Does loyalty imply that the people should not demand the rights and privileges of the British Citizen, or try to obtain them? If not, what has been the object of the Chief Commissioner in dragging the fathers and the grandfathers of the Darbaris in his speech. The effort of the Indians to obtain their real rights means a death-blow to the prospects of the white civilians, and this is the true cause of the Chief Commissioner's displeasure. With the exception of a few misguided youths, no one has made any effort to create real sedition. They do not go beyond the boycott, which is absolutely necessary for the development of the indigenous trade and industry in the present deplorable condition of the country. The necessity for it is enhanced on account of the superiority of the rivals in the field. Does not the Chief Commissioner know that in order to improve the industry of their own country by killing that of India the English Authorities provided fine as a punishment for dealing in cloth of the Indian manufacture in England? Is then our boycott worse than the above penal legislation? Does he consider boycott an act of sedition? If he does, it is due to his misunderstanding. He has committed another curious blunder. He is under the impression that all the moveable and immoveable property in this country have been brought from England and conferred on the people; but the fact is that it is the people of India who have accepted them as their rulers and still abide by their words. It is the English who have not fulfilled their promises up to this day, and consider those who remind them of the same as being their enemies. Regarding the various questions put to the Rajas, Zamindars and

Malguzars, the only answer is that they have received their property from the Indians and the servants of the public protect their life and property. Does the Chief Commissioner forget that in addressing even a common individual he has to subscribe himself as *your most obedient servant*. This subscription is not mere formal, but has a deep political truth underlying it. According to the Hindu text and Western political science the King is only a representative of the people and the Government officials are their servants. Although a Government official is not the servant of any particular individual, he is certainly a servant of them all taken together. Thus he may now see, who has made the Raja a Raja, and the Malguzar a Malguzar.

Only one point now remains to be considered. The Chief Commissioner has called upon the Darbaris to express themselves in a tangible manner against the seditionists, but we have not yet been able to make out the necessity for it. There may be things which we do not approve, nay we may even hate them, but that does not make it incumbent on us to protest against them before a crowded assembly. The question has been, however, very cleverly put by the Chief Commissioner who asked "which of you remain silent when your friend or your patron or your father is abused, etc.?" The reply is simple, namely—No! What we would ask is "what parent would keep silent to see his own son slandered in the public?" and the reply is the same. But has the parental Government done anything when it saw the white journals and the missionaries abusing the Indians to their fourteenth generation? Never! Well, the parents ought to lead the way. The terms in which he has referred to the great Tilak has been unworthy of the position of the Chief Commissioner. He knows very well, that Mr. Tilak is not a thief or a robber. His patriotism is an eye-sore to the Chief Commissioner, and he has been sent to jail too, but to speak of that unselfish great man as an agitator is only casting a blot on the magnanimity of the English nation. He knows very well that in the free countries of Europe, a political offender may be a great patriot. Under the circumstances in speaking of a political prisoner in trouble in an undignified language, has been very unworthy of a great Government official like the Chief Commissioner. We, too, are very sorry for the cowardly outrage on the statue of the late Queen Victoria, and we hope, that its perpetrators would be soon brought to punishment. The Maharaja of Sargujar's offer has been worthy of him. But to charge the people of Nagpur with this black act has not been proper. How was it possible for a resident of Nagpur to know the person who defaced the statue? The Nagpur people are really sorry for the incident and have already expressed their grief. The Government has deserved thanks for extending the period of the tributes of the feudatory chiefs from 20 to 30 years, as also for the promise of reducing the assessment of the zamindars at the next assessment.

BNARAT MITRA,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

31. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 12th December, in giving a substance of the speech delivered by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces at Nagpur

The Nagpur Darbar speech.

on the 30th November last remarks that the speech looks like a sermon preached by a school master to his students of tender age.

HITAVADI,
Dec. 11th, 1908.

32. In connection with the proposed reform in the House of Lords the

Hitavadi [Calcutta] of the 11th December says that up till now no Colonial or Indian representative has had any place in the House of Lords. But the

Indian representation in the House of Lords.

reform committee recommends that Colonial representatives should have a place in the House of Lords. It has even been thought desirable to admit Indian representatives into that House. But the committee has not been able to decide how Indian representatives can be admitted into the Upper House. The committee has distinctly stated that there are insurmountable difficulties in the way of admitting Indians into the House of Lords and therefore it cannot be done. But it is proposed that retired Viceroys, Lieutenant-Governors, Chief Commissioners, Residents of first class, on being admitted into the House of Lords, will be entitled to speak on Indian affairs. The paper observes that if Viceroys like Lord Curzon and Lieutenant-Governors like Sir Andrew Fraser and Sir Charles Elliott and others of this type are admitted into the House of Lords there will be no end of our misery.

33. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 11th December yet hopes for a modification of the partition of Bengal. The paper Lord Morley and the situation. urges that before giving effect to the reform scheme let there be an uprooting of the main cause of discontent, a modification of the partition by appointing a Governor for United Bengal. By doing this the Government will find that its prestige has been enhanced and not lowered.

HITAVADI,
Dec. 11th, 1908.

34. Referring to the question of partition of Bengal, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 11th December says, that as the day of Lord Morley's statement on his reform scheme is drawing nigh, it is anxious to know what His Lordship will do in connection with the partition. Whatever shape the reform scheme may take, whatever privileges are allowed to the people, unless there be a modification of the partition, there will be no peace in the mind of the people of Bengal. Government has deprived us of our liberty of speech and writing, but that will not lead to the disappearance of unrest from the people's mind. Mr. Gokhale has rightly said that there will be no peace in the land, unless the partition is modified and a general amnesty is offered to political offenders. The paper concludes by saying that it is repeatedly urging that if the object be to remove unrest then let the attempt be directed towards pulling out the root of it. Mere cutting down the branches will produce no result.

HITAVADI,
Dec. 11th, 1908.

35. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 12th December protests against any further increase in the army expenditure of India, in view of the distress of its people. Protest against any further army expenditure.

BANGAVASI,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

III.—LEGISLATION.

36. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 12th December commenting on the new Act, writes:—

DAINIK CHANDRIKA,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

The new Act. On Friday, the 11th December, at the Viceroy's Legislative Council, a new and uncommon law was put in the Statute book. Mr. Richards, the Law Member, and Sir Harvey Adamson, the Home Member, in the course of their remarks on the discontent, did not hesitate to pass strong remarks on the Extremists. The decision of the authorities was arrived at beforehand, and there was no delay in administering the poison pill. May the Indian god of medicine grant that no evil effect may follow from the administration of this awful poison pill. The British administration of law is always to be adored for its intrinsic merits. It is truly said by the *Indian Mirror* that the trial of the anarchists would have been conducted in a different manner in any other dominion except the British Empire. We are also of opinion that the methods of administering law in any other country except the United States cannot stand by the British method; but it sometimes so happens that even nectar gets polluted for the fault of the receptacle. It is to be seen from the result whether the new enactment would turn out to be nectar, or being nectar already be changed into poison. The hope of security is mixed up with the feeling of fear, and light is combined with darkness. In a country full of thirty crores of human beings, three thousand and thirty thousand or even thirty lacs are of no account whatever. There is no cause of fear, if the law be administered in a faultless manner; otherwise every one among the thirty crores, save the lunatics and infants, must be afraid. Many of those for whom laws are enacted are but lunatics, and there would be no reason for astonishment if they were not frightened by the laws. Lords Morley and Minto are not reckless or garrulous, and Lord Minto is always anxious to preserve gravity of demeanour in the Legislative Council, and the display of gravity, mildness and reasonable nobleness of heart in the resolutions of Sir Harvey and Mr. Erle Richards is pleasing to all. A little deviation cannot be the cause of astonishment in any wise man. After taking medicine, one ought to depend on the physician. It is our earnest desire that the hope of the physicians may be fulfilled, and the body politic may be freed from disease.

HINDI BANGAVASI,
Dec. 14th, 1908.

The new Act against anar-
chism.

37. Referring to the same Act, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 14th December has the following :—

This week is a memorable one, and is to be remembered long by the Indians. This is the week in which the Government of India has passed an Act which is the first of its kind ever known before. This is the week in which the police have awakened from their drowsiness and begun to make fresh house-searches and arrests with great energy. The clouds which have so long been sending forth peals of thunder, have now begun to pour down to extinguish the flames of anarchy. A Bill was introduced into the Council of the Viceroy on Friday last, and passed at one sitting. It was produced in the form of a draft, and came out in the form of an Act within a brief span of two hours and-a-half. All the members supported the measure, only Dr. Rash Behari Ghose suggested a slight amendment which was of course rejected. Those for whom the law is intended, were not allowed to cast even a passing glance over it before. No opportunity was given to the public to form an opinion about it before it became law. Secrecy and haste vieing each other for glory in this affair one is left to decide which deserves it the most. On the one hand a drastic law has been passed by the Government of India, while on the other there has been a great increase in house-searches and arrests of persons. The incidents of this week go to prove that the policy of coercion has now reached its culminating point. It is true that the object of the Government in passing the law is no doubt to maintain peace and order in the country; but will this end be secured by having recourse to a policy like this?

The law, the paper continues, has, however, not been so terrible as at one time was feared; but what it is, is by no means insignificant.

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

HINDI BANGAVASI,
Dec. 14th, 1908.

38. The *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 14th December says, that the Maharaja of Patiala, who has already attained the age of 18 years and is a married man too has been under the strict supervision of a European guardian, and is not allowed to sit in the Executive Committee of the State, or even to interfere with the influx of Muhammadans into his State who are displacing the old Sikh officials.

The paper has learnt that throughout the interview which the minor Maharaja had with the Maharaja of Nabha recently, the European guardian was present, and says that if it be a fact, it reflects a very bad policy. The paper then thinks that the Government of India has no information as to what is going on, otherwise it might not permit it.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

JAGARAN,
Dec. 6th, 1908.

39. Referring to the "creed" as laid down by the Surat Convention, the *Jagaran* [Bagerhat] of the 6th December says that

The Congress "creed."

no thoughtful or prudent man can have any objection to its language or spirit. But the question is, what is the authority which lays down the creed? If the Convention authorities had issued this mandate after consulting the Congress, then there would have been no cause for raising any the slightest objection to it. Where is the justification of the proposition that because "seven persons from five places" expressed a certain opinion at the Surat session of the Congress which ended in a *fiasco*, therefore the whole country must agree in it? If the opinion of the whole country can be flouted by the whim of a few fat persons, then the shame and regret caused thereby would be insupportable. The opinion of the general public in the matter is that the rules to be followed should be framed in a full session of the

Congress, where all the delegates would be free to express their opinions, and the proposals would either be accepted or rejected, as the case may be.

40. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 9th December has the following:—

SANDHYA,
Dec. 9th, 1908.

A Congress at Nagpur.

Srijut Alekar and Dr. Munji have sent us a letter; having given the matter our best thought, we have come to realise that Moderates and Extremists will not combine.

Nagpur Congress.

The Moderates are inflated with pride like toads, while the Extremists are furious with their wounded self-love. As a result, the Moderates will go to Madras and the Extremists will go to the Nagpur Congress. We have heard a rumour that the authorities will engage policemen to prevent the latter gathering. Let us see what happens. For the present we call on all to attend the Nagpur Congress. At least 200 delegates from Bengal must go to Nagpur. This Congress will be conducted on the old lines. It will have no Mehtaite arrogance, no Gokhaleyan hypocritical posings—nothing to object to. Brothers in unison, we shall talk over the country's affairs.

Those who will attend the Nagpur Congress, will get delegates' certificates from Nagpur if they send their names and addresses. We believe the Nagpur Congress will be a success. We must be up and doing from now; the interval is not large.

41. The *Hitavarta* [Calcutta] of the 10th December contains a version of the *Hitavadi* on Sir Mehta's letter. the *Hitavadi's* article on Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta's letter to Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu about a united Congress, published to show its readers the views of Bengal on the subject.

HITVARTA,
Dec. 9th, 1908.

42. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 12th December does not like that there should be two Congresses, and regrets that the efforts of the meeting held in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* office for the purpose of uniting the two parties proved abortive. After regretting the absence of men like the late Pandit Ayodhya Nath of Allahabad, and the obstinacy of Sir Pheroze-shah Mehta the paper rejoices at the resolutions of the District Association of Malda and the Sarma Valley Association of Sylhet not to join either of the Congresses. The paper thinks that if the noble examples set by these Associations be followed by the men of the country good counsel may prevail one day, otherwise the paltry mistake of to-day may spread disaster in due course.

BHARAT MITRA,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

43. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 12th December says:—

BASUMATI,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

The Congress. Bengal can never recognise the Assembly at Madras as the "National Congress." It will simply be a recognition of the Convention, if we identify the present Congress with the previous one. Taking this fact into consideration, as also the possibility of the withdrawal of the boycott proposal, we cannot but declare one and all of those Bengalees who will go to Madras and join the Congress there to be nothing more or less than so many traitors to the cause of our country. The Congress at Nagpur is, like her predecessors, governed by the old rules and welcomed and convened by the "Continuation Committee." We can never deny the fact that it has got every right and claim on the aid and sympathy of the Bengalis. This is now the only thing for the serious consideration of the Bengalis whether they should join the Nagpur Congress or as there can never be more than one Congress and as the division of the National Congress is an impossibility, whether they should not abstain from joining any one of the Congresses, unless and until they get a united Congress.

44. The *Bihar Baudhu* [Bankipore] of the 12th December has undertaken to explain the difference between the Moderates and the Extremists. The Extremists are said to be unmannerly and unconstitutional in

BIHAR BAUDHU,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

their methods. Messrs. Mehta, Wacha, Gokhale, etc., call those holding national views as disloyal and their assembly as of boys.

To begin with we should see who are the leaders of the Nationalist party, and then whether Nationalist ideas were introduced into the country first or the ideas of those who call themselves Moderates.

The principal leader of the Nationalist party is Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, say what he may to the contrary, being won over by the Moderates now. His writings, speeches and books are in themselves sufficient evidence of the fact. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had been preaching doctrines of Nationalism long before the terms Moderate and Extremist were known. At the time of the Madras Congress of 1903, presided over by Mr. Lal Mohan Ghosh, letters from Messrs. Wedderburn, H. O. Hume, the late W. C. Bonnerji and Naoroji were published in the *Hindustan Review* of Allahabad in which these gentlemen had taken the Indian political agitators to task. If we are not mistaken Mr. Naoroji in his letter advocated self-government. How can then we admit that the Nationalist party is a new party? Pandit Bal Gangadhar Tilak (whose blessed name is worthy of being uttered in the morning), Mr. Kharakprasad, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai (now half-Moderate and half-Extremist) have been successively taken to be the leaders of that party.

In order to understand the difference between the two parties, the present situation in the different Provinces should also be considered. In some of the districts of the Punjab efforts are being made to elect members for the Congress at Madras. In fact in some places delegates have already been elected, but really speaking they are not the leaders of the public, for national ideas were already in the field in the Punjab before the creation of the Moderate and Extremist parties. The Punjab led the way in the use of *swadeshi*. It might be that the Punjabis were not joining the people of other Provinces in national movements, but they had been in possession of national ideas for a long time. It is a known fact that the Punjabis protested against the doctrine of *creed* at the Allahabad Convention last year, and that Lala Lajpat Rai did not allow the Provincial Conference in accordance with the convention *creed* during this year. The political death of the Punjabis occurred last year, on account of the various calamities that befell the Punjab in the shape of the prosecutions of the pleaders of Rawalpindi, the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, etc. The promoter of the *Tribune*, the late Dayal Singh Majithia, was an advocate of self-government. A change has come over that paper since. This is however ancient history. Even to-day an old gentleman like the Rai Sahib Lala Murli Dhar of Ambala still holds national views. It was he who proposed Mr. Tilak as the President of the National Congress at Surat last year.

Our contemporary *the Panjabi* is the supporter of national views, as several contributions recently published in the paper advising to keep the old Congress alive would go to show. In short, the people in the Punjab are generally inclined to the National ideas. As for the United Provinces, had Pundit Ayodhya Nath been alive, that Province would have been at the head of the Nationalist party. It is to be regretted that Pundit Madan Mohan Malviya, the chief disciple of the late Pundit, after having disregarded the advice which he had hitherto been giving, is now adopting a different course. Besides, the people of the United Provinces have all along been given to sycophancy. Hence the leaders of those Provinces are not advocates of self-government, but the general public are. Of this Pundit Malviya had evidence during the sitting of the Allahabad Provincial Conference. After the United Provinces, come Bengal and Bihar. We do not speak of the former as no one likes sycophancy there; but in Bihar we do not see any one who could be called a leader. It would not therefore be too much to count Bihar as among the dead, for the people are afraid of giving publication even to the present incidents in Champaran. As for Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces, no Madras leader was present at the Allahabad Convention, when the question of "*creed*" was brought in. The recent incidents at Tinnevely and other places have also created a panic among the people. The *creed* has been a creation of a few men of Bombay, but the general public are not the associates of this

"*creed*" company, for the intensity of the grief at the incarceration of Mr. Tilak was not so much anywhere as in Bombay. As for the Central Provinces, the National parties are so much in the ascendant, that the Moderates had to shift the Congress from Nagpur to Surat last year.

From a general review of the political situation of all the Provinces, the natural inference is that the public are inclined to national ideas; so the only difference between the Conventionist Congress to be held at Madras and the Nationalist Congress to be held at Nagpur, will be that the view of the public will be discussed in the latter, while the method of sycophancy would be taught in the former. The difference between the two Congresses is that, while the one may be guided by the policy of begging, the other would depend on self-reliance. The Conventionists are insisting on adopting the policy of begging, while those who wish to keep the old Congress alive are anxious to retain the policy of self-reliance. The Conventionists wish to trample public opinion under foot; the other Congress wishes to protect it. So the difference after all is between beggary and self-reliance.

45. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 9th December compares the English education which Bengali boys are receiving at present with the Hindu system of education. In its opinion the English education does not educate

SANDHYA,
Dec. 9th, 1908.

The effect of English education on Bengali boys.

Bengali boys in the true sense of the term. The English education may better be termed 'reading and writing.' It only enables its recipients to earn money without giving them any taste of spiritual bliss, while the Hindu system of education has for its aim the imparting of true education, education which will fit its recipients for the perception of spiritual virtues and at the same time make men of them in the true sense of the term. The fathers and guardians of Bengali children do not try to make men of their boys and wards, and try only to make them money-making machines as it were. It then says:—

Englishmen are of opinion that by learning English, Bengalis become irreligious people; they lose all sense of right and wrong and become capable of all dark deeds from the throwing of bombs to the carrying of flags in *swadeshi* meetings. Increase the strictness of discipline and at the same time show them the way to imitate Englishmen, argue these men, and Bengali boys will become quiet. We are obliged to express it frankly that the disease would not be cured by this remedy. If you wish to make men of the boys, then leave them on the broad old roads of Hindus and the Muhammadans. You will then see that it will do good both to you and to us. Tag your English education on to this Hindu education, and there will be no trouble. Just as a respectable woman turns a fiend as soon as she forsakes the path of virtue, so from the very day that the Bengali going out of the pale of Hinduism began exclusively to learn English he has lost his caste, religion and material as well as spiritual well-being. The Bengali has become an insect in the shape of a human being given up to luxury and enjoyment. This dirt cannot now be swept off by making a broomstick of Dr. Ashutosh. So long as the way of earning money for the Bengali remains easy only on obtaining a certificate from the house of slaves (the University), so long Bengalis will go on passing examinations despite all restrictions, and will baffle all your endeavours. If there be bugs in a bedstead, all of them cannot be killed; and even if they be dead, the bad smell of bugs remains there. If the bedstead be burnt, then there can be no bugs at all. The picking of bugs from here and there out of the house of slaves would not do. It is to be burnt totally. It is true that as a result of the new regulations of the house of slaves, the shop-keeping policy of the schools and Colleges will come to an end; but the harvest that has sprung out of the education in Bengal of the last fifty years will never die out. Besides, the house of slaves cannot be totally closed, as from whence, if closed, would there be a supply of slaves? We must say, therefore, that your engrafting of the branch of a hog-apple tree on the branch of the finest mango tree cannot be a good graft, but would be a foreign growth.

46. Referring to a dispute between the police and the Oxford students on the 9th November last, in which the latter were put on their trial in a Court of Justice, the *Hitvaria*

The low-class police.

HITVARTTA,
Dec. 10th, 1908.

[Calcutta] of the 10th December draws attention of the leaders and the authorities to an extract from Lord William Cecil's letter to the *Times*, which runs as follows, adding that comment on it is superfluous:—

"The modern plan of employing clumsy lower class policemen to keep high-spirited gentlemen in order, is to take a course which must provoke a breach of the peace, and the poor boys find themselves in a Police Court with all its concomitant degradation and publicity. This can do no good to the moral nature of the lads; it tends to make them lose their self-respect and to give way to a sense of injustice and contempt of law. . . ."

SANJIVANI,
Dec. 10th, 1906.

47. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 10th December, in a leading article, writes:—

The past and present of Bengal.

Before the year 1905, everything was quiet in Bengal. Though occasionally there were difference of opinion and misunderstanding in politics between the rulers and the ruled, there was never a widespread agitation or a beginning of discontent. Sometimes the minds of the people got agitated by various sorts of oppression and injustice, but the whole country would become quiet in the belief that sooner or later truth and justice would triumph in British Law Courts, and their agitation would pass away like an occasional excitement.

The people had a deep faith in the justice shown in the Law Courts; and they would appeal from the decision of a Lower Court to a Higher one with a firm belief that if the one had committed a wrong, it was sure to be redressed by the other.

If the Local Government wanted to enact a new law against the wishes of the people, they would appeal to the higher authorities, and, if unsuccessful, they would finally approach the British public for justice. Because of this faith, no one would become totally disrespectful to the British rule, though they had a thousand causes of complaint.

But the poison tree that was planted in Bengal in 1905 by Lord Curzon's administrative folly being now furnished with various branches, is spreading poison throughout the whole country and thereby destroying it.

If Lord Curzon had not partitioned Bengal against the wishes of the people, then perhaps there would not have appeared to-day among the peaceful Bengalis a company of young men having fierce revolutionary ideas. Bengal is not a nursery of heroes like the Punjab or Maharastra, and the Bengalis had hitherto been despised throughout the whole world as cowards, and certain Anglo-Indians like Mr. Kipling drew their picture of the quiet Hindu from them. Will the Government officers consider what cause is now leading the same Bengalis to run on the way to death?

Now, in order to check the widespread discontent, the Government as well as the people have become greatly anxious. The Anglo-Indian papers are devising various means, and we hear that the Government is also taking the advice of some of the notable men of Calcutta.

This is the time when the position of the newspapers that voice the public opinion is both responsible and full of danger. We have to-day become agitated to see the widespread agitation while at the same time we are impatient to see how the wind of peace may blow over this green and beautiful land. Therefore though unsolicited, still we advise the Government officers again and again not to repeat the mistake of the partition of Bengal under a fit of anger.

When Lord Curzon embarked on his scheme for partitioning Bengal, every lawful agitation was made against the measure, applications containing signatures of lacs of people were sent to the Viceroy, and there was no large village in Bengal but sent its protest. But all were to no purpose, and the Secretary of State not only signified his approval, but expressed the opinion that though an injustice had been done, still it would remain unredressed. This has broken the backbone of the faith of the Bengalis. It does not matter much if you do not give alms to a beggar, but it is an act of great cruelty to remind him of his pauper condition. The action of the Secretary of State is nothing short of this. On that day the inmates of every home in Bengal enquire about the cause of this.

Everybody has known from that time that nothing would be gained by depending on the Secretary of State, and that something must be done to rouse the attention of the whole British nation. So the weak Bengalis began in the

name of God the boycott propaganda three years ago. The result of the boycott need not be discussed. It is attested to by the Manchester mill-owners and the Indian cloth-merchants. We have been astonished to find the indication made by God in the agitation. The boycott which was resorted to by us at a time of excitement to stop the Bengal Partition, seemed after some days at a calmer moment to include under it the cause of the improvement of the country. Just as the wide branches and the trunks of trees remain unperceived under seeds and come out gradually on light and air touching them, so the vast assemblies of *swadeshi* were so long laid in the chasm of boycott and have now been successful on the affectionate touch of the whole nation.

The history of Bengal for the last three years is full of talk about *swadeshi* and boycott. I do not like to discuss those matters which are calculated to do no good, even if they do no harm. The fire which is being covered with ashes, should not be kindled. Our Anglo-Indian contemporaries are directing us with frowns to give up boycott, which, in their opinion, is the cause of the widespread discontent.

We have all along been saying that no good would be done to this country by revolution. The Bengalis have acquired a celebrity for their wisdom throughout the whole country, and the learned among them have one and all admitted that nothing but harm would be done to the country by revolution. If the past history of the world be the true guide, then it will declare the evils of revolution. Therefore we entreat those of our countrymen to come back, who on seeing our mother country disgraced and oppressed, think revolution to be the true means of rescuing her. With your remarkable self-abnegation, courage, self-sacrifice and application, turn your attention to the service of the country, to the formation of a great nation, and in a short time the aspect of Bengal would be changed.

But to-day we have to speak something to those who on the pretext of disturbances have asked us to give up boycott.

It is true that the boycott agitation was begun with the agitation against the partition of Bengal, but it has now become glorious on the touch of patriotism, and has become an object of affection to the Bengalis. It is no longer guided by a few leaders, and the question of abandoning an agitation on which depends the prosperity of the whole nation should be considered by the whole Bengali people. We now understand that poor men in this world are always subjected to shame and oppression, and none would wipe their tears. So the Bengalis have been for the last three years doing that by which their poverty would be driven out.

Those who are advising us to give up boycott or *swadeshi*, are advising us to commit suicide. No thoughtful patriot has sympathy with secret murders. On the other hand by such acts the spread of *swadeshi*, which is dearer than our lives, is checked.

So long as widespread famine and poverty be not permanently combated, peace would never be established in the country. So long as the people of the country who have got high education but are unable to devise any means of livelihood will remain idle, peace would not reign in the country. As a result of *swadeshi* movement, they will find means to earn their living. So one who will advise the Government to check the movement that is calculated to build a permanent bridge of friendship between the rulers and the ruled, is an enemy both to the King and to the subjects.

The past history of this *swadeshi* movement has been written in drops of blood of the Bengali nation. The tears of many men and women are mixed up with this tale. The Bengalis would not for their life abandon this sacred religion.

When we think about the bright future in front, it appears that our sufferings are nothing. These sufferings are unreal things created by God for trying his devotees. The Coral Islands in the oceans are made out of the ribs of crores of animals. Many *Dadhichis* (a certain sage from whose bones Indra's thunder is alleged to have been framed) must die before strong weapons can be made.

Then it behoves all to begin this devotion, looking at the future bright with sunshine. Just as in the past temples and *chatuspathis* were erected on the banks of the Ganges, so now on the dawning of this new age let new places of

SANJIVANI,
Dec. 10th, 1906.

industry be erected by the wealth, endeavours and energy of the Bengalis to proclaim the new prosperous Bengali nation.

48. In the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 10th December, Babu Manaranjan Guha Thakurata writes as follows:—

An advice to the Government
in the present situation.

In the opinion of many, one ought not to give advice unsolicited. Often it so happens that the adviser is subjected to scorn. But even the great men could not give up the temptation of expressing unsolicited what was good and lawful.

At the present crisis many Indians and foreigners have given their advice as to what course the British Power should adopt. Some have advised it to follow the method of repression to allay the disturbance, and others ask the people to combine and try to do so. Some are for more strict legislation, and a few have even asked for an amnesty to the accused.

Those who are for repression, are actuated more by the boast of power than by the sense of responsibility, without knowing who are to be their victims. We do not think even for a moment that the heart of even one among the bomb-throwers should melt on seeing Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and the other so-called *swadeshi* agitators, great and small, hanged together on the gallows. Those who try to bring the whole people under the category of the helpers of the bomb-throwers, ought to think that if the elderly people were concerned in the bomb conspiracy, then it would have assumed a different aspect and the boy Khudiram would not have been sent to Muzaffarpur to slay Mr. Kingsford, and Jatindra to an open meeting to kill the Lieutenant-Governor. Such action cannot be supported by any wise man. It cannot be doubted for a moment that all such actions have been accomplished by boys through exciting exhortations from boys. The Government officials have arrested some young men, and some are still at large; but the police and the general public are equally ignorant of the whereabouts of the men of their party, or of the identity of the men themselves. In these circumstances, it is a grave question how they are to be restrained. We have said already that the general public do not know these men, nor have they any control over them. It is nothing but madness to believe that they would act on the advice of others, while they could break the ties of affection of their parents, brothers, sisters and other relatives. The oppression of the Government and the crying of shame by the general public will only serve to aggravate their zeal. What is to be done then?

It has become dangerous even to give good advice, as the Government officials instead of listening to our complaints regarding their faults, become impatient to find out if there are any seditious words in the language we use.

At the close of the Sepoy war in 1858 the clause in the Proclamation of Victoria the Great concerning the pardon granted to the mutineers had the effect of establishing the internal peace of the country more than what could be done by the strength of arms. If the Sepoys knew that they would be put to death if they were discovered, they would have become fierce and secret murders would have taken place throughout the country. It is quite natural that one who has no hope for his life is not afraid of performing difficult deeds. The methods followed in 1858 ought to be followed now by the Government officials.

If the Government officials would pardon those whom they consider to be conspirators and revolutionists on the condition that they have discovered the mistake in the present method of work and seen that the country would not be freed by such means, and that they should abandon their projects, then by their words their helpers and associates, unknown or at large, would be restrained. It is not impossible or imprudent for any one to agree to issue such a proclamation, as the mistake of following the above method has been known. There is at the same time no chance of Englishmen losing their prestige.

Those who say that if they be pardoned they would again bring on a revolution, are quite mistaken in their estimate of the British strength.

The English are very strong, and what can they not do? But what glory is to be gained by oppression? I do not like to enter into a discussion as

to the cause which has produced discontent in the country, or why bombs have been made or how peaceful Bengalis have abandoned love of life; but I must say that it is not the duty of a Sovereign only to show his strength, but his duty is to establish happiness and peace throughout the country. Englishmen have found by their experience of the last one hundred and fifty years that by enacting strict laws and by administering this country with a strong hand the number of criminals have increased instead of decreasing.

49. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 12th December has the following:—

NAYAK,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

Government and Babu Aswini
Kumar Datta of Barisal.

Mistaking a rope for a snake:—A few days ago a public meeting was held at Barisal. At that meeting the popular leader, Srijut Aswini Kumar Datta, said that the people of Barisal would for ever continue to do those acts of public utility in an undaunted spirit which they had been hitherto doing in a simple and straight-forward manner. If for this anybody should conspire to endanger the patriotic workers or any other person of Barisal, God would punish that man. We have all along known, and can confidently assert, that under the leadership of the popular leader, Aswini Kumar, nothing can happen or has ever happened, which is unjust, and is not sanctioned by religion and morals. It would be a most regrettable thing, if any person, whether a Government official or not, should mistake a rope for a snake and view the acts of the pious Aswini Kumar with an evil eye. We may hint in this connection that the blunders of the Government officials have recently created not a few mischiefs in the country. If any Government official commits any mistake respecting the acts of Aswini Kumar, and if, as a consequence, something undesirable should happen, then the volume of the mischief will increase still more instead of diminishing.

50. Referring to the petition of the Bombay merchants dealing in foreign

BHARAT MITRA,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

The Foreign cloth dealers' representation to Viceroy.

cloth submitted to the Viceroy, praying for the remission of their income-tax on the ground that the foreign cloth was fully packed in their godowns and that there was no hope of its clearance, and also the failure of many foreign cloth firms in Calcutta, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 12th December observes, that the white newspapers who had at first laughed at the *swadeshi* movement, must now be cursing it and wishing for its total destruction. But the steady progress of the *swadeshi* shows that it has Providence behind it.

51. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 12th December remarks:—

BANGAVASI,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

Criticism on the *Daily Mail's* remarks on the Indian situation.

The party of the anarchists has now become powerful throughout India," is not this the unsolicited warning given by the *Daily Mail* to our Viceroy? Those who do not believe in the transmigration of souls, those who do not believe in *karma* (the effect of actions in our past life), cannot conceive at all that anarchism is simply an impossibility in India.

Instead of tracing and rooting out those evils which are the main causes of the present unrest and discontent, most of our Government officers circulate the rumour of the prevalence of terrible anarchical principles, simply relying on a few solitary instances of bomb and shooting outrages. The result is that the Government, instead of improving the present state of affairs, is rather thinking of more and more drastic measures. We have endured everything, and we shall have to endure hardships of the most rigid administration. Our Viceroy openly declared that the present anarchist agitation has neither affected the whole of the country, nor is it supported universally. In spite of this declaration, his deportment indicates that he is very much terror-stricken.

His Excellency should consult those prominent leaders in this country who are really wise and experienced, and should not suffer himself to be misled by the evil counsels of the wicked.

PRABHA,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

The attitude of Englishmen towards the situation in the country.

52. The following is a full translation of an article appearing in the *Prabha* [Calcutta] of the 12th December:—

PROVIDENCE IS HOSTILE.

Don't become restless and speak too many words. Don't bluster too much, nor show too great a love for your country, lest sedition should, with a gaping mouth, eat you up. You are the son of a poor man, and have been born

in India, specially in Bengal, through sheer ill-luck. Allow the remaining days of your life, which is fickle as the water on a lotus leaf, to be passed somehow, thanking your luck, shutting your eyes and ears, and carrying your life in your hands. The reason is that these days have become very insipid, and hence very much harder. In the first place, malaria is raging; and over and above this, a kind of death-dealing arrow called the plague has come to this country along with the English, like the thunder from the sky. The lives of the people of this country are, therefore, always about to leave the body. Again, as luck would have it, foreign trade reigns supreme, so that indigenous trade has almost disappeared. If an attempt is made to recover this lost gem, the gray eyes of many red-faced trader sink into the socket; and therefore, on the pretence of keeping the peace, the ruling power is obliged to help them, either openly or secretly. The English are wholly innocent in this matter; for if a countryman suffer loss, even the King himself takes it as a personal loss. This love of country of theirs is truly praiseworthy. However that may be, we, that is to say, the more than 300 millions of the Indian subjects of the English Government, and specially about 80 millions of Bengalis, finding no other means of earning money, are seeking to secure service under the Sahebs, and are engaged in that service! Again, in matters causing the greatest eagerness, the spleens of most persons increase in size, and therefore, when the Sahebs, the conquerors of India, administer kicks, the enlarged spleens of the natives are ruptured, and assimilation with the five elements is obtained early. This is not the only form of death which the Indians are exposed to; they come by their death in various other ways. On the other hand, the people of this country are not at all bound to take to the same path. If Ram follows the road to Benares, Syam must go by the road to Allahabad, and Jadu again must needs walk on the road to Nimtolla. The Indians, therefore, will not desist from taking to roads different to one another. The Bengalis are also constantly traversing the road leading to death, and are meeting death; but still they cannot become one, are not moved by sympathy, and cannot bid good-bye to jealousy. Thus every year how many are passing away is beyond computation. On one occasion a great Englishman made a computation and said: "People generally die; but if anybody should cast his eyes upon India, he would be convinced that the number of people dying every year in India alone is far greater than the number dying in war in the whole world."

Brothers, have you heard the computation issuing out of the mouth of an Englishman? The more we are blustering for nothing, the more we are hastening towards death; the more you are crying out "*swadesh, swadesh*" (your own country) and by killing one or two Sahebs are dying with the impression that (in doing so) you have done all the country's work, the more are those red-faced merchants laughing as they sit at their ease. Your rigorous boycott made them almost to weep; but your energy in that direction easily cooled down; your minds were directed in a different direction and boycott diminished. The great leaders and servers of the country went to prison on charges of murder. Some died on the gallows, and the merchants laughed to their heart's content.

A great demonstration was held over the dead body of Kanai, and the countenance of the merchants at once paled. Seeing your great joy, they informed the rulers of the fact, and an order was immediately passed that in future the Superintendent will exercise his discretion as to whether the body of an executed prisoner shall be made over to his relatives or not. Thus, even after his execution, Satyendranath was detained; his body was secretly cremated within the Jail compound by the authorities, and hundreds of people who came, had to return. So, all the trouble came to an end, and sedition over a dead body came to a close.

You are making a tremendous noise, blustering and swaggering over the matter. There are some who are showing their love of country by writing strong articles in the papers. I tell you, therefore, silence! silence! Don't make the foreign merchants laugh by vain blustering.

The more you are weeping,
The more are they smiling.

Don't you know that the laughing of those red-faced people do not easily stop? It is necessary to heighten the colour still more. Useless show of heroism or lamentation is of no avail. You are imagining that after so long a time the Hindu religion has been openly interfered with. Not only are the men being throttled to death as guilty of crime, but over and above that, if the Superintendent Sahab be unwilling, their relatives will not be allowed to apply the funeral torch to their mouths and perform other funeral rites. Whatever you may say, what will be gained by useless cries, even if that be true? If you can attract the attention of the rulers to your rights, do so; otherwise, sink all your grievances secretly within your bosom, and summon your last day to come; follow the path of justice and righteousness; or don't make the world laugh at you for nothing. Never forget that the rule of the English will never conform to your wishes.

53. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 12th December suggests that on the

NAYAK,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

A suggestion to His Excellency
Lord Minto.

happy occasion of the impending marriage of His Excellency Lord Minto's daughter, those who have been sent to jail on charges of sedition should be discharged, and the cases of sedition that are now going on should be withdrawn. Should not such an occasion be utilised for the purpose of establishing peace? Political wisdom would be shown by discharging the men. If the experiment fails, they may be re-arrested without any trouble. If afterwards the law be made more strigent, no valid objection can be raised. Nor is it possible that if these people be discharged, the Empire would totter to its fall. No serious harm can be done if a little of generosity and high-mindedness be shown. It is your nation that gave freedom to the slaves, and it is among your people that Howard the philanthropist was born.

The writer concludes as follows:—

I would suggest that all the accused should be taken to Government House one after another, and should be addressed in kind terms, and it should be explained to them that anarchism can never produce good results; that for a patriot to turn rebel the present is not the proper time, and that the time will never come in India if self-government be introduced and if the distinction between a ruling race and a subject race be abolished. If you apply some such handy remedy, you will find that the unexpected has come to pass. If this be done, it will be found that the accused persons have turned so many truly loyal subjects. These will be no mere lip-loyalists, but genuine loyal subjects of the Government. Mercy and forbearance are virtues which characterise the really strong.

54. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 12th December, says as follows:—

BANGAVASI,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

The present situation.

Instead of being under the constant suspense and anxiety as to our future fate, it is far more desirable that what is to happen should come to pass now, even if it be a worse and hard luck.

There is no doubt that in the present situation of the country, there is sufficient cause of grave anxiety. There is not a shadow of doubt that, for whomsoever and for whatsoever reason, the dark gloom of unrest and discontent has already cast its shadow over the Government of India. No doubt there is unrest, but no remedy for the disease has yet been found out. On the other hand, the present attitude of the Government officers has engendered a great panic and grave anxiety in the heart of each and everyone of our countrymen.

There is unrest throughout the country, but there is no anarchism throughout. There is much agitation in the country but no rebellion. The people are indeed terror-stricken but not mischievous and harmful. They are oppressed but not yet distracted. They have got no hopes of peace and prosperity owing to the misdeeds of some of the officers, but there is no desire to bring about destruction. Even in the absence of all these, we are branded with a stigma. It is not an ordinary stigma, but it is one of the most disgraceful nature, viz., of being anarchists. Of course there are some stray cases in which one or two bomb or shooting outrages have taken place, but some of the wicked vultures have set the rumour afloat to the effect that from one end of the country to the other, there are open manifestations of anarchism, repeating themselves almost every second.

Now, this rumour set afloat by the so-called vultures, has already reached the other end of the world. Those who have never had the opportunity of even once taking a view of India, are undoubtedly under the impression that like the ever (—) blood-thirsty anarchists of their own country, we Indians are also briskly engaged in propagating our revolutionary and seditious plots in cities, on sea-coasts, on hills, on riversides, in jungles, and even in the midst of vast, unapproachable deserts, being solely actuated by our blood-thirsty desires. They surmise that these parties of anarchists are every second pouring down fire pillars of thunder-storm with repeated flashes, and at the same time dancing about like boisterous lunatics. They are under the conviction that the European officers of this country are fainting every moment being overwhelmed with the anxiety as to what will befall them, owing to the horrible and dastardly outrages and atrocities which are likely to be perpetrated by the bands of these most mischievous anarchists. They are fully convinced that owing to the grave anxiety caused by the likelihood of the most heinous crimes being perpetrated by them, the delicate and tender-hearted European ladies are every moment preventing their husbands and sons going out by fastening up the bars of their gates.

BANGAVASI,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

55. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 12th December writes as follows:—

Draining away of Indian revenue. India is day by day dwindling away under unforeseen disasters, famine and plague. The Indian revenue is not at all adequate to redress all the grievances that India is now groaning under. Under the circumstances, is there any one on the face of the earth who will not feel aggrieved or object to our Indian revenue, which is nothing but so much of our blood, being drained away to other lands? It is not Indians alone who take this fact to heart, but even those Government officers who are generous and impartial, feel it.

BHARAT MITRA,
Dec. 12th, 1908.

56. Referring to the scholarships awarded by the National Council of

Scholarships awarded by the National Council of Education.

Education to some of the successful students of the last year, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 12th December, remarks: that this would gradually show the students the way in which they are to lead an independent life.

HINDI BANGAVASI,
Dec. 26th, 1908.

57. Referring to the interview granted by Lord Ripon, the late Viceroy,

A Viceroy like Lord Ripon needed.

to the editor of the *Review of Reviews*, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 14th December, remarks: that there is just now the need of a Viceroy like Lord Ripon to grapple with the present situation in this country.

URIYA PAPERS.

URIYA AND
NAVASAMVAD,
Nov. 4th, 1908.

58. The *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 4th November states

Loyalty to the Throne.

that Raja Baikuntha Nath De Bahadur celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Queen's Proclamation by distributing cloth and money to the lepers, and poor and disabled persons, by illuminating the *Rajbati* and by offering special prayers to family gods for the long life of Their Most Gracious Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress. *Sankritan* parties were also held in honour of the occasion.

URIYA AND
NAVASAMVAD,
Nov. 4th, 1908.

59. The *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 4th November states

The weather and crop in Balasore. must die.

that the winter has set in, that there is no rain and that a certain per cent. of the standing crop

SAMBALPUR
HITAISHINI,
Nov. 7th 1908.

60. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 7th November speaks

Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Minto thanked.

highly of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Minto for subscribing liberally towards the fund started at Sikandarabad for the relief of the dis-

tressed in the Nizam's dominions.

SAMBALPUR
HITAISHINI,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

61. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 7th November thanks

The Raja of Barhasambar thanked.

the Raja of Barhasambar for advancing loans to his subjects with a view to enable them to tide over the present distress.

62. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 7th November states that rice sells at 18 seers per rupee at Kochinda and other places in that State.
The price of rice in Bamra.
63. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 7th November is informed that rice merchants are carrying off rice from Bamra and Talcher with great rapidity. Unless some check is imposed on this free export of rice, the people of Bamra and Talcher will soon come to grief. The attention of the local authorities is therefore drawn to this matter.
A proposal to stop export of rice from Bamra and Talcher.
64. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 7th November applauds the courage of a Kisāna in Mauza Gaurapali, Pargana Banibandhali in Bamra, who killed by his axe a tiger which had surreptitiously entered into his cowshed with a view to kill his bullocks.
A daring deed of a Kisāna in Bamra.
65. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 7th November states that the early cessation of rain has done great injury to the standing paddy crop and that the *rabi* crop has also been injuriously affected.
The state of the crop in Bamra.
66. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 7th November is of opinion that the National Congress has become a source of trouble to the Indians. Difference of opinion in the Congress camp has become so serious as to divide it into two. At Surat, last year, several members of the Congress behaved in a bad way. Who knows that they may not do the same in the ensuing meeting of the Congress at Madras? *Swaraj* and boycott should be eliminated from the Congress proceedings as they have proved two great sources of trouble.
The National Congress, a source of trouble to the Indians.
67. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November regrets to learn that the Raja of Dhenkanal is trying to get a 2nd master for the Dhenkanal Higher English School on Rs. 60 per mensem from Bengal, and that advertisements to that effect have appeared in the Bengali and English newspapers in Calcutta. The writer is of opinion that the Raja of Dhenkanal should try his best to procure an Urya teacher for the post in question.
Bengali proclivities of the Dhenkanal Raja condemned.
68. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that a tiger scare prevails at Bampur in Khurda.
Tiger scare in Khurda.
69. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that new paddy sells at 20 seers and old paddy at 16 seers per rupee in Khurda.
Price of rice in Khurda.
70. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November thanks Mr. Chintamani Patra for excavating a big tank in Baman Dihasahi in Jajpur, whereby a large number of day-labourers has been kept employed.
Mr. Chintamani Patra of Jajpur thanked.
71. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that the early cessation of rain in Jajpur has made the loss of a certain per cent. of the standing crop inevitable.
Loss of crop in Jajpur.
72. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that new rice sells at 8 seers and old rice at 6 seers per rupee at Kendrapara in Cuttack. The prospects of the standing crops are not good, as rain has ceased since long.
The paddy and rice in Kendrapara.
73. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that the standing paddy crop in Aul, although very hopeful and good, has been damaged by the early cessation of rain.
The weather and crop in Aul.
74. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that a large number of *kangalis* have collected at Chandbali, where both the residents and steamer passengers are troubled on their account. These poor men and women are in a famished state.
Famished men and women flocking to Chandbali port.

SAMBALPUR
HITAISHINI,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

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UTKALBARTA,
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75. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that rice sells at 11 seers per rupee at Sambalpur. It is further stated that ripe paddy is being constantly stolen from the fields in that district. An old Brahmin belonging to village Gaurapali in that district, while keeping guard over his ripe paddy-field, was killed by the thieves.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

76. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that rice sells at nine seers per rupee in Athmallik, where it is said a bumper harvest is soon expected.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

77. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that the Raja of Athmallik has signalised his valour by killing a big tiger with his own hands.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

The Raja of Barakhemundi thanked.

78. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that the Raja of Barakhemundi has contributed Rs. 50 towards the fund of the

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

Brahman Samiti in Puri.

79. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that a resident of village Narayanpur, in Dharakat, was killed by lightning while mowing grass in a field. Two boys were almost killed by a big bear in Mauza

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

Niral in that State.

80. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that two boys were drowned in a tank at Ranihat, in Cuttack, through accident. A woman of the Barber caste

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

was also drowned in another tank at Bakharabad in that town.

81. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that a ferocious tiger is killing goats, sheep and cows in Mauza Kankal, in Kendrapara, and that the police is busy in following the tracks of the mau-eater.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

82. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that a resident of Mauza Barahampur in district Balasore, while trying to rescue a goat that was on the point of

being run over by a passing train by dragging it from the railway line, was tossed out to a neighbouring thicket at a distance of eight yards from the railway line, where his head was broken. The man is lying in an unconscious state in a neighbouring hospital.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

83. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that a man belonging to Dihasahi, in Keonjhar, was killed by a wild elephant while his two companions saved their lives through accident.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

Two men killed by a tiger in Keonjhar.

84. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that two men belonging to village Palang in Keonjhar were killed by a tiger.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

85. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that tigers and wild elephants are committing depredations in Killa Balarampur in Cuttack in consequence of which the public roads in that State are almost deserted.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

86. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that fever and cough prevail in the Jajpur Sub division of the Cuttack district.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

State of the crop in Pallahara.

87. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that the state of the crops in Pallahara is good.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

88. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that the state of the crop in Narsinghpur is not bad, though many of the agriculturists are compelled to irrigate their fields by drawing water from the neighbouring tanks in the State.

UTKALBARTA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

89. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th November states that the *Gopastami* festival was celebrated with great *eclat* at Chauliaganj in Cuttack by the people of that town headed by the Marwaris. More than a thousand visitors attended the ceremony, which was held under the patronage

of the Gorakshini Sabha, Cuttack. The Marwaris are trying their best to establish the association on a permanent footing.

90. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November supports the argument of the *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] in connection with the injustice that is going to be done to the licensees in Puri under the Puri Lodging House Act, who are required to pay advance fees for 1909 in 1908, though they have already paid their fees up to the end of March 1909. Why not make them pay for the 9 months of 1909 from April to December in the April of 1909 and thereby put a stop to all sorts of complaints?

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

91. Referring to the speech of the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, delivered at Amarawati on the 19th of October last, in which it was pointed out that the Indians should be eligible for the higher and more trustworthy appointments in India, when they will be found fit for the same, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November observes that the statement of the Chief Commissioner, though it sounds good to the ear, has no practical meaning, for the Government has done very little towards that object.

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

92. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November thanks the Irrigation Department for its resolution to increase the number of distributaries in the Cuttack district, whereby a large number of acres of land will be irrigated with greater facility and less complaint or opposition. Many raiyats are to blame for their dilatoriness in executing their *kabuliyats* and for their selfishness in trying to exclude their brother raiyats from the benefit of irrigation in various ways. If the raiyats do not execute their *kabuliyats* in proper time, and if they do not behave towards one another with decency and fairness, the Irrigation Department cannot be blamed if all the fields are not irrigated in time.

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

93. After giving an abstract of the annual report on the administration of the Post offices in India for the year 1907-08, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November arrives at the conclusion that the Postal Department has made a profit of 8 lakhs of rupees, though it has done very little to increase the salaries of low-paid officers, who were before this deprived of their commission on the sale of stamps. The low-paid officers of the post-offices in India are in great distress and Government ought to do something to improve their condition.

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

94. *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November states that while the raiyats in parganas Sargara, Korai, Tarakat and Barunde are busy in drawing water from tanks and other sources of water to their paddy fields, they are much troubled, disheartened and discontented to find Settlement amins passing through their lands and measuring the same. The raiyats should not be disturbed in this way under the existing state of things.

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

95. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November states that the 50th anniversary of the Queen's proclamation was celebrated with great éclat and enthusiasm at Kendrapara not only by the officials, but also by non-official gentlemen including the pupils and teachers of the local schools.

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

96. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November states that rice sells at 8 seers per rupee in Kendrapara and that the prospect of the *rabi* crop is not hopeful.

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

97. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November states that the Zamindars in Jajpur are engaged in collecting arrear and current rent from their raiyats, who are unable to pay the same. Government ought to do something to prevent the raiyats from becoming utterly resourceless.

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

98. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November states that a man belonging to Madhupur in Cuttack was carried off by a tiger while engaged in irrigating his fields. The tiger scare has become so great in Madhupur that the agriculturists are hardly able to stir out of their homes. Government ought to do something to prevent this state of things.

UTKALDIPIKA,
Nov. 7th, 1908.

99. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 7th November supports the contention of the *Balasore Samvad Vahika* that the temporary character of the settlement in Orissa has brought about the poverty of the zamindars in that Province, while the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act favouring the tenants more than the landlords, have brought about the misery of the Orissa landlords in various ways. Thus the zamindars in Orissa are not in a position to do as much public good as their forefathers did.

NILACHAL
SAMACHAR,
Nov. 13th, 1908.

100. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 13th November thanks God for the protection that He granted to Sir Andrew Fraser while His Honour was on the point of being shot by an assassin and hopes that His Honour will spend the remainder of his life in peace and prosperity.

NILACHAL
SAMACHAR,
Nov. 13th, 1908.

101. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 13th November is of opinion that the early cessation of rain in Orissa will bring about a loss of eight-anna crop in that Province.

GARJATBASINI,
Nov. 14th, 1908.

102. Referring to the punishment of a milk seller in Puri, who had mixed a good quantity of water with milk, the *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 14th November points out that the practice of mixing water with milk, intended for sale, has become so common in Orissa, that it is not looked upon as criminal after all. The inevitable result is that the health of the public suffers, and a bad practice continues to exist. Steps should be taken to procure pure milk for the residents of the towns in that Province.

GARJATBASINI,
Nov. 14th, 1908.

103. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 14th November states that the paddy crop in Nilgiri has suffered a good deal from drought.

GARJATBASINI,
Nov. 14th, 1908.

104. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 14th November states that the health of the public in Angul is good.

GARJATBASINI,
Nov. 14th, 1908.

105. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 14th November states that about 15 persons have died of cholera in Mauzas Marhi, Jagannathpur and Manatri in the Dhenkanal State.

GARJATBASINI,
Nov. 14th, 1908.

106. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 14th November states that the agriculturists in Talcher are busily engaged in drawing water to their fields from the neighbouring tanks in that State, and that it is doubtful whether this process of irrigation will prove sufficient in the end, as the number of the sources of water-supply is very much limited.

GARJATBASINI,
Nov. 14th, 1908.

107. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 14th November thanks Babu Gopabandhu Das, a pleader of the Puri Bar, for his unselfish labours in furthering the interests of the Brahman Samiti, Puri, by collecting subscriptions in the district of Ganjam, whither he had proceeded to join a meeting of the District Conference.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA SASTRI,

Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 19th December, 1908.

REPORT (PART II)
ON
NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN BENGAL
FOR THE
Week ending Saturday, 19th December 1908.

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II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—Police.

1250. In discussing the figures of the respective Hindu and Moslem

MOSLEM CHRONICLE,
28th Nov. 1908.

Police in Eastern Bengal.

employés in the Police Service in Eastern Bengal, the *Moslem Chronicle* attempts to show the disparity of the proportion between the two communities. This disparity exists in almost every branch of the Public Service, although the Police Department is the only place where the Mussalman, though decidedly outnumbered and overwhelmed by the Hindus, makes a respectable show. If the claims of eligible Moslem candidates do not receive due consideration, the ostracism of the Mussalman from the State Service will be complete in no time.

1251. With reference to the notices served by the Commissioner of Proscription of "Bande Mataram." Police on the Managers of Indian Theatres in the northern part of the town, prohibiting the singing on the stage or otherwise using the song "Bande Mataram," the *Bengalee* says:—

BENGALUR,
10th Dec. 1908.

"The notice issued by the Commissioner of Police in the present instance is far more comprehensive. It prohibits the singing on the stage of even the famous song of Bankim, beginning "Bande Mataram." The notice will be strongly resented by the whole community, and we must enter a most emphatic protest against it. "Bande Mataram" has practically become the national song of Bengal. To proscribe it is to commit an outrage upon public opinion. Not a word in this song, which has already been translated into English, can be said to be seditious or improper. It is a patriotic song, pure and simple. To proscribe it is to proscribe patriotism itself. We appeal to the new Lieutenant-Governor to look into the matter himself, without depending upon police reports, which often are as misleading as they are inaccurate, and to direct the withdrawal of the Police Commissioner's notice."

1252. The *Bengalee* learns from Dacca that 173 boys have been enlisted

BENGALUR,
11th Dec. 1908.

Domiciliary visits at Dacca.

as C class offenders and domiciliary visits are being paid every night to find out where they are and what they are doing. A proceeding like this is calculated to exasperate the whole community and intensify the present unrest and irritation. One of the strongest arguments against the partition is that in the New Province it has set up a reactionary Government with traditions of administration fit for the middle ages, and illustrations in support of this view pour in every day from all sides. The prospects of the success of a conciliatory policy must be remote in a province where the whole community is in a state of great excitement, accentuated by the domiciliary visits of the police. Nothing is more repugnant to the Indian mind than such visits.

1253. The *Bengalee* writes: "The arrest of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra,

BENGALUR,
13th Dec. 1908.

The arrest of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra.

Editor of the *Sangitani*, has given a great shock to the Indian community and has produced a sensation the like of which we have not witnessed for many a long day. What the charges against him are we do not know; but to imagine or suspect that he could be associated with any act of violence or wrong-doing is so absurd that his arrest upon any such suspicion has created a sense of deep indignation not only amongst his numerous friends and admirers but among the entire Bengali community. He has always been the friend of constitutionalism and has consistently denounced all forms of lawlessness and violence. 'Righteousness exalteth a nation, wrong-doing leads to national degradation and ruin,' has been the key-note of his preachings and his writings; and we are not guilty of the slightest exaggeration when we say that he has done almost as any living man has what he could to prevent our young men from drifting into unconstitutional and violent methods. It is most unfortunate that such a man should be arrested on the eve of the announcement of the proposed reforms. We cannot help thinking that his arrest is a political blunder of the gravest magnitude and will greatly intensify the present unrest and excitement. The general feeling in the community is that not the best and wisest amongst us is safe."

BENGALUR,
15th Dec. 1908.

1254. In protesting against the policy of "house-searches" the *Bengalee* states:—"We have read in Blackstone's Commentaries, that monumental work on the principles of English Law, that an Englishman's house is his castle. The principle applies to all British subjects in all parts of the Empire. But in the two Bengals, the principle has apparently been suspended for the time being. Travelling from the principles of English law to the deep-rooted sentiments of the people, we desire to say that nothing is more abhorrent to the Indian and nothing more calculated to inspire him with a sense of genuine indignation than the invasion of his hearth and his home by the police in quest of materials to incriminate him. His homestead is to him an object of sacred affection, and its invasion by a class of people, whom he does not always trust, is viewed with deep resentment. Surely wholesale house-searches are not calculated to prepare the ground for conciliation. A house-search means the open declaration by the authorities of their belief that the members of the house are in possession of materials which might incriminate them. Every member of the house is thus treated as a suspect. We ask the authorities if innocent and respectable people would like to be thus treated—and if they are so dealt with, what their feelings must be. Let alone the question of reform—that concerns the future. But when people are exposed to the indignity of house-searches, it is little consolation to them to know that they will soon have some kind of reform. Their present troubles oppress them; and when associated with them is the sense that these indignities are unmerited and that they are innocent of all complicity with any kind of offence, their feeling of indignation can be more readily imagined than described."

(b)—Working of the Courts.

INDIAN MIRROR,
9th Dec. 1908.

1255. The *Indian Mirror* concludes a laudatory article on the purity and greatness of British justice in India with the following:—

"We have deemed it necessary to allude to this matter, because of the measures which are in contemplation in connection with the present unrest. It is no doubt imperatively necessary to put down sedition and lawlessness by the strong arm of the law, but at the same time it is most essential that the principles of justice and righteousness which have hitherto characterised British rule, should continue to be maintained with the utmost care. We should have the Judiciary for nothing else but the administration of justice. And the Executive Government should avoid doing anything which may be construed into a desire to influence the Judiciary. The wider the division between the Executive and the Judiciary at this moment, the better."

AMRITA BASAR
PATRIKA,
9th Dec. 1908.

1256. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* declares that the sentence of 18 months' rigorous imprisonment on Babu Hira Lal Sen Gupta in connection with the "Hoonkar" sedition case, is excessive, considering that the book was published over a year ago, that nothing serious followed, and that the accused apologised expressing his regret for writings at unguarded moments.

BENGALUR,
10th Dec. 1908.

1257. The *Bengalee* regrets the severity of the sentence passed on Hira Lal Sen Gupta who has been sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. A policy of leniency in such cases, produces a very wholesome impression upon the public mind, whereas sentences of the character inflicted in this case have quite the opposite effect.

BENGALUR,
10th Dec. 1908.

1258. Referring to the recent deportations, the *Bengalee* writes:—"To deport any one, however humble his station might be, without a charge and without a trial is in entire conflict with the elementary principles of justice. We know how strong the sense of indignation was both in India as well as in England when about eighteen months ago Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh were arrested and deported to Mandalay. These arrests and deportations have given a great shock to the Indian community and the feeling is heightened

by the personal character of some at least of those who have thus been dealt with. Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter is one of the foremost leaders of the moderate party in Bengal, a Minister of the Brahmo Samaj, a man of the highest character, universally honoured and respected by friends and foes alike. For months together he was made the target of incessant attack for his devotion to moderate principles and constitutional methods; and now a Government which professes to rally the moderates has sent one of their most respected leaders to prison without a trial and without affording him an opportunity of explanation or defence. We ask, is a proceeding like this calculated to conciliate the people or rally the moderates round the standard of the Government? We cannot help thinking that a deplorable blunder has been committed and we most earnestly appeal to Lord Minto to rectify it. Sir Edward Baker knows Bengal, and we are quite sure that His Honour must be convinced that these deportations will do more harm than good. We look forward to his intermediation with the Government of India in this matter. It must not for one moment be supposed that in especially condemning the action of the Government in relation to Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter, we in the slightest degree approve of what has been done in regard to the other gentlemen who have been deported. Deportation without trial must be abhorrent to all right-minded men. Among the deported is Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, who is held in the highest respect in East and West Bengal. A teacher of youth from early manhood, he has devoted himself to the service of his country with rare zeal and self-sacrifice. Possessed of abilities of the highest order, he might have acquired for himself a distinguished position in the legal profession; but he foreswore the temptations of the bar in order that he might bring up the youth of his province and make them useful and honourable men. He is one of the deported along with that devoted professor of the Brojamohan Institution, Babu Satish Chandra Chatterjee, who is an ornament of the profession to which he belongs. We have had our differences with Babu Sham Sunder Chackerbutty, but we deeply sympathise with him in his present misfortune and his sufferings. Babu Sachindra Prasad Bose is a young man of great promise, possessed of oratorical powers of a high order. Although young in years, he has already rendered good service to his country, and the Government by glorifying him with the honours of deportation will render him even more serviceable in the future than he has been in the past. Altogether, we greatly deplore these deportations. In view of the new Act, was it necessary even as a measure of State? If the Government is going to freely use its power of deportation, where was the necessity for the new Act?"

(d)—Education.

1259. *Indian Mirror* deplores the decision of the Senate regarding the disaffiliation of the Law Classes of certain colleges in Bihar and Bengal.

Law Colleges.

INDIAN MIRROR,
11th Dec. 1902.

The case of the Colleges has not been given that consideration which it deserved. Very strong and cogent reasons must be forthcoming to convince the public that the action which the Senate has taken is in the interest of legal education, and it cannot be said that such reasons have been advanced. There are enough of causes of excitement, and this question of legal education will now be added to the list. To disaffiliate Law Colleges, to restrict the area of legal education and to add to its expensiveness in the name of efficiency, would make the new University still more unpopular. The matter is one calling for the notice of the Government of India.

(h)—General.

1260. The *Indian Mirror* says:—

Our new Lieutenant-Governor. "So far Sir Edward Baker has received a cordial reception from all quarters, European and Indian. His Honour should now be given every support and assistance in bringing back order and tranquillity in the Province. We may be sure that Sir Edward Baker will help us as far as it lies in his power, provided that we repose our confidence in him. At the present moment, the cause of public order and tranquillity has the first claim on the attention of the Government,

INDIAN MIRROR,
15th Dec. 1902.

as also of the representatives of the people. This is a time when there should be no reserve or restraint between the Government and the responsible leaders of the people. The people need not be afraid of the new Act or of any Criminal Act that may be passed by the Legislature, if they give no cause for the operation of any such Act. It remains with us to decide whether the provisions of the new Act are to be called into requisition or not. Let the people be united in this one resolve that the crime against which the new Act is directed shall speedily die out, so that the Act too may die out through disuse. The best thing that we can do is to render Sir Edward Baker whole-hearted co-operation in the discharge of his duties, the first and foremost of which at this moment is the extirpation of anarchism, so that the country may advance once more, unhampered by any obstacle on the road of peaceful progress. There may be occasional differences of opinion between the public and the head of the Government, but these must not in any way interfere with their hearty co-operation with each other in all matters which concern the general welfare or the peace and security of the Empire. If the Government consult the true representatives of the people in all important matters, and enlist their help and co-operation, the happiest results will follow.

"Repression alone will not achieve every end. We cannot too much impress on the mind of the Government the necessity of removing, in the first instance, all the root-causes of the unrest in the land. One by one all these causes should be removed; and if this is done, as sure as night follows day, we shall see peace and order restored to the land. Repress crime by all means; punish the really guilty with severity. But see that the innocent do not suffer, and the well-affected may not get disaffected. Everything that is calculated to create greater unrest should be carefully avoided, and conciliation should be one of the first conditions for re-establishing law and order in the land."

HINDOO PATRIOT,
18th Dec. 1908.

1261. In protesting against the East India Loan Bill recently introduced in Parliament to enable the Government to raise a loan of £5,000,000, for general railway purposes,

the *Hindoo Patriot* says:—

"When for want of funds the Government is handicapped in taking measures for the sanitary improvement of the country, when the death-rate of the country is far in excess of its birth-rate, when plague and malaria coupled with periodic outbreaks of cholera and small-pox are playing havoc from one end of the country to another, when the throat of the people is being parched on account of want of pure drinking water, it ill becomes the Government to spend millions on unnecessary strategic railways. It is nearly two years that the Government proposed to introduce a system of free primary education in the country, and as yet nothing has been done to make the scheme *fait accompli*, evidently for want of funds. It seems, therefore, quite inappropriate to spend money for a purpose which is considered unnecessary by some of the best authorities on the question. At a time when disaffection is raging in the country it is not statesmanship to add further fuel to the fire. People in this country hoped after the termination of the Russo-Japanese war and further on the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Convention that the military expenditure of the country would be considerably reduced and Government would be prepared to spend largely on the sanitary improvement of the country which has become a crying necessity, but alas! we are as far from the realisation of that hope as ever. Can not Lord Morley yet prevent this unnecessary expenditure and take away the last straw that may be likely to break the camel's back?"

III.—LEGISLATION.

HINDOO PATRIOT,
10th Dec. 1908.

1262. The *Hindoo Patriot* says that the Indian community have a legitimate grievance against the Government that their opinion has not been consulted in the matter and no opportunity given to them to know the real character of the intended measure. Had it been so, the representative Indian leaders could have exerted themselves to reconcile the new legislation to the people.

1263. Commenting on the introduction of the New Sedition law the *Bengalee* writes:—

Ibid.

"We are bound to say that the Home Member

BENGALUR,
18th Dec. 1908.

who introduced the Bill and the other members of Council who spoke in support of it, failed to make out anything like a case in favour of the new legislation. Nor are we in any way convinced that the law, as it has been framed, will serve the purpose for which it is ostensibly intended. Will it prevent crime? And will it, when a crime has been committed, facilitate the detection and punishment of the offenders? These assuredly were the real purposes, or at any rate, ought to have been the real purposes of the legislature. Will these purposes be fulfilled by the measure that has been passed? The answer, we fear, must be in the negative. The real criminals, we are firmly convinced, cannot possibly belong to associations which work in broad daylight, and which, in many cases, have quite laudable objects in view. In so far as the new law will enable the police and the executive to suppress some of these, it will be an engine of oppression and will do nothing but mischief. It is true that the law authorizes the police and the Magistracy to interfere only with associations whose members practise violence or intimidation or which may be declared as "illegal" by the Governor-General in Council. But can it possibly be doubted that reliance will in the majority of cases be placed upon the reports of the police? And with such a police as ours, it seems almost certain that the innocent will as often suffer as the guilty. In this connection it is worthy of note that it rests entirely with the police to say that such and such men are members of or constitute an "association" which does this or that, for them to be hauled up. As regards the 'speedy trials of offences,' we fear it will in most cases mean the sort of 'sharp and summary trial' which we have been condemning in anticipation during the last few days. Not only is there no occasion for it, but it will in many cases mean the punishment of suspected persons, who might after all be innocent, without adequate evidence being heard. One of the clauses in the Act provides for the admission of the evidence of any witness taken by a Magistrate as evidence before the Special Court if the witness is dead or cannot be produced and if the Special Court has reason to believe that his death or absence has been caused in the interests of the accused. That is to say, the evidence of murdered approvers or other witnesses taken in the lower Court shall as such be admitted as evidence before the Special Court. The beauty of the whole thing is that this evidence may now be recorded by the Magistrate in the absence of the accused unless the Magistrate specially directs them to be present. Is not this contrary to all our ideas of what is right and proper in criminal justice? As regards the Special Tribunal, our only objection, apart from the question of procedure on which we have already expressed our opinion, is that the trial will not be held before a Jury. A tribunal consisting of Judges of the High Court, assisted by a Jury, and holding its sittings in Calcutta and in the full blaze of public opinion, would undoubtedly inspire public confidence. But the absence of the Jury makes all the difference between a right sort of tribunal and one that will not, in spite of its commendableness in other respects, be acceptable to public opinion. We are strongly of opinion that the Government has acted in a hurry and has failed to rise to the height of the occasion. The measure it has passed cannot possibly have the support of public opinion, but will on the contrary be generally condemned. No sane man will for a moment question the necessity of suppressing or uprooting anarchism; but the remedy to be devised ought to be the right sort of remedy."

1264. The *Indian Mirror* writes:—

INDIAN MIRROR,
12th Dec. 1908.

The Special Legislation. "The much discussed special weapons are at last before the public. We have already published the text of the Act which has been passed by the Supreme Council, and we have no doubt it will be generally acknowledged, that the measure as passed is not as formidable as it was feared it would be. In the first place, the unpleasant title of Hibernian flavour has been abandoned in favour of the modest designation, 'The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.' Instead of a gigantic Act, abounding in numerous sections and sub-sections, we have a plain-looking measure, consisting of eighteen sections, divided into two parts, and a schedule of two paragraphs. The object of the Act is defined to be to provide for the more speedy trial of certain offences and the prohibition of associations dangerous to the public peace."

DECEMBER,
31st Dec. 1900.

1265. The *Bengalee* writes:—"It is very much to be regretted—and the regret was voiced by the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose—that the enactment of the new law was not

The Special Legislation.

postponed till Lord Morley's reform scheme had been announced. These measures of repression, coming one after another in one long-continued series, have had a most painful effect on the public mind, and if the co-operation of the Indian community is necessary, as His Excellency the Viceroy justly observed, for the success of the reform measures, a serious difficulty has been created in the way of such co-operation by measures which must sensibly increase the volume of the present discontents. On the contrary, a contented people, conciliated by a generous scheme of reform, would be more inclined to lend their support to strong measures which, they might be persuaded, were necessary in the interests of public order. We are bound to say it was unwise to reverse the order of procedure. In his masterly speech, the Hon'ble Dr. Ghose referred to this aspect of the question with great and convincing force. He quoted Lord Morley himself who in the debate in connection with the Irish Criminal Law and Procedure Acts of 1882 charged the Conservative Government with going to work in an inverted order. 'They are beginning,' he said, 'with a policy which will aggravate the existing evil and will weaken and spoil the operation of whatever future remedy they may be able to propose.' The reform proposals are in sight. They will be announced within the next few days. We venture to think that it was a blunder to pass the new law just on the eve of their announcement. We are glad that Dr. Ghose put forward this view in the course of the debate. We observed yesterday that we have no objection to a special tribunal, consisting of three High Court Judges, provided the bench was assisted by a jury. But the most objectionable feature of the new law is that relating to the *Samities*. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose entered a vigorous protest against this part of the Bill, for which we venture to think no case has been made out. This portion of Dr. Ghose's speech deserves to be quoted. He said:—

'But I ask, is there any network of secret societies in this country? Any Association like the Irish Land League? Anything like the reign of terror which hung as a dark and ominous cloud over Ireland? I would also ask, has the ordinary law been found inadequate to deal with disorder? The Irish Prevention of Crimes Act of 1882 opened with the preamble. "Whereas by reason of the action of secret societies and the combination for illegal purposes in Ireland the operation of the ordinary law has become insufficient for the suppression and prevention of crime." Now we all know that at that time Ireland was in a state of revolution and society was on the very verge of dissolution. In this country, however, anarchism is only a passing distemper and it has yet to be shown that the operation of the ordinary law is insufficient for its repression and prevention. My Lord, no Irish Viceroy had to face greater difficulties than Lord Spencer or was put to a severer trial, and he succeeded where Mr. Forester had failed, because he possessed an inexhaustible store of steady-eyed patience which we are told on very high authority is essential in an Irish Viceroy.'

"Sir Harvey Adamson read a letter, written by an elderly Indian gentleman whose home is in Eastern Bengal, who, we are told, had 'exceptional opportunities of judging of the condition prevailing among the people in the mufassal.' This gentleman described the *Samities* as 'the terror of the country.' The name of the writer has not transpired, and Sir Harvey Adamson did not disclose his personality. We remember that in the height of the controversy regarding the partition of Bengal a high official published a letter from an elderly gentleman whose home was also in East Bengal who said that the Partition was welcomed by the Hindus of his province. No greater fiction was ever uttered by any one young or old. We wonder if the same writer has again come forward to enlighten and instruct the Home Member. Sir Harvey Adamson said that these '*Samities* are the nurseries of young anarchists.' Would not the new law now strengthened by the summary provision be sufficient to deal with all anarchists, young or old, without including the *Samities* within the sphere of its operations? An 'unlawful association' under the new law means 'an association which encourages or aids persons to commit acts of violence or intimidation or of which the members habitually commit such

acts.' Is not the commission of violence or intimidation already an offence, and is not the present law amply sufficient to deal with such offences? However that may be, we specially deplore these provisions, as they will arm the police with new powers to harass, to molest and to persecute. We regret that Sir Edward Baker should have lent his support to this part of the Bill and that he should have promised the vigorous working of these provisions. It cannot but be a matter of disappointment and regret to the numerous Indian friends of Sir Edward Baker that he should unfortunately have been placed in such a position that his first public utterance after assuming the office of Lieutenant-Governor should have been in support of a repressive measure. We fear these provisions will have placed a dangerous power in the hands of the Police. The new law is calculated, we are bound to say, to intensify the prevailing discontent and to aggravate a situation already sufficiently grave and embarrassing. Punish wrong-doers by all means. The Government will have the whole-hearted support of the community in so doing. But it is dangerous and unwise to place enormous powers in the hands of the police which are liable to abuse."

1266. The *Bengalee* adverting to the subject, says:—

BENGALUR,
13th Dec. 1908.

The Special Legislation. "As Dr. Rash Behari Ghose pointed out in his speech in support of his first amendment, the law just passed by the Supreme Legislative Council goes even further than both the Irish Act of 1882 and the subsequent Act of 1887. According to both these Acts, it is incumbent upon the prosecution to prove that a person is 'knowingly' a member of an unlawful association before he can be punished. 'That is to say,' as Dr. Ghose put it in his admirable way, 'a man cannot be convicted of being a member of an unlawful association unless he is knowingly a member of such an association; nor can he be convicted of taking part in the doings of an unlawful association unless he does so with the knowledge that the association is unlawful.' Dr. Ghose went on to say:—

'It would be, I should have thought, impossible to improve on the Irish Acts; but I see that the Hon'ble mover has been able to achieve this feat. As the clause now stands a man, however innocent, may be hauled up as a criminal and sent to prison for six months for having contributed, say, a certain sum of money for the purpose of an association which, he had not the slightest reason to think, was at all unlawful or which was engaged in the prosecution of any purpose forbidden by the law.'

"To this valid objection which, we are glad to find, is entirely endorsed by the *Daily News*, the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill had nothing more cogent to say in reply than that if the amendment were accepted, the burden of proof would be upon the prosecution. Exactly so; Dr. Ghose made no secret of what he wanted. Strangely enough the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill thought that this burden the prosecution would in the majority of cases not be able to discharge. He was, therefore, of opinion that the burden of proof should be upon the accused, that is to say, upon men, whom the police choose to haul up on charges under the new law. It did not strike the Hon'ble Member that it would be far more difficult for persons so hauled up to prove their innocence than for the police to prove their guilt; and this quite irrespective of their guilt or innocence. Is it merely the prosecution whose interests are to be safe-guarded? Are accused persons not to have their rights protected merely because they are charged under the new law?"

1267. The *Hindoo Patriot* writes:—

HINDOO PATRIOT,
14th Dec. 1908.

Ibid. "The long-expected measure for the extirpation of anarchism, which greatly exercised the mind of the public after it was known that the Government of India contemplated the forging of special weapons for dealing with the present situation in Bengal, has at last been made public. A Bill has been passed into law at the last sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council on Friday entitled the "Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908," which arms the Government with special powers to secure the speedy trial of anarchist offences and to break up organisations which may be suspected to entertain objects dangerous to public peace. Those who believed that the Government was preparing to hurl a Draconian measure at the people on the lines of the memorable legislation in

the eighties for the prevention of Irish crimes must have been surprised to find that the new enactment is not so unduly severe or formidable as they were led to expect. Indeed, it must be acknowledged that the legitimate freedom of the Press and of public bodies that do not traffic in revolutionary materials, either subjective or objective, has not in any way been curtailed or interfere with. It is only the wrong-doers who aim at bringing established law and order in jeopardy and promoting the growth of the propaganda of violence that have anything to fear from the new law, which has found its way into the Statute-book to check their nefarious operations. The loyal and law abiding section of the community may rest secure that they will remain untouched by the new legislation which has been framed only to prevent the anarchists from running riot and encompassing the ruin of the country.

"The Act is divided into two parts. The first portion meets the necessity for ensuring the rapid disposal of conspiracy cases and dealing summarily with individuals who are accused of having committed certain descriptions of crime for facilitating the purposes of conspiracy against the Government. A special tribunal composed of three Judges of the High Court will deal with all such cases as they may arise. The trial in the Court will not be assisted by a jury, but considering the fact that as many as three Judges will sit in judgment, it may well be believed that the chances of miscarriage of justice will be obviated. The Judges of the High Court enjoy a great amount of public confidence, which is more than can be said of any other class of officials. The fact that three Judges of the highest Court will jointly try a conspiracy case, and in the event of a difference of opinion among them, the decision of the majority will prevail, is certainly calculated to inspire public confidence. The procedure that has been adopted is far better than that of keeping the accused in a state of suspense for months together that lengthen out into a year and of keeping the nauseating details of anarchist doings before the public for an unconscionably long period. The evils of such a system are apparent on the very face of it. They have arrested public attention in connection with the progress of the trial that is now going on at Alipore. We believe that any objection as to the new procedure that might be forthcoming would disappear if it could be arranged that one of the three Judges must in every case be an Indian. The preliminary enquiry before a Magistrate into any anarchist offence will henceforth be an 'ex-parte' one, at which neither the accused (unless otherwise directed by the Magistrate) nor his pleader will be present and from which the public will be excluded. After recording all evidence that the prosecution may adduce, the Magistrate will frame a charge and commit the accused for trial, if he is satisfied that a case has been made out to justify the accused being put on his trial, otherwise he will order his discharge. The accused, if committed, will be supplied with a copy of the order, the charge and the evidence against him and will be allowed to call evidence in his defence at the special tribunal where he will take his trial. So long as sufficient grounds exist for further inquiring into his guilt, he will not be released on bail. From the decision of the three Judges, who will try the case no appeal will lie except upon a point of law. These changes in the ordinary routine of trial have been introduced by the new legislation to meet the novel exigencies that have arisen. However opinions may differ as to the advisability of these changes, it cannot be denied that a departure was called for in the cumbrous and protracted procedure attending a conspiracy trial, especially as grave reasons of State are connected with its speedy termination. The new Act was necessitated as Sir Harvey Adamson put it with good reason, from the unsuitability of the elaborate criminal procedure to the trial of conspiracy cases, and the Act is intended to substitute summary methods for a form of trial which has admittedly been found wanting to deal with the new situation. The public mind would have been relieved of any possible misapprehension if the preliminary enquiry before a Magistrate had not been made *ex-parte* in its character. The impression should not be allowed to gain ground that the accused is in any way prejudiced in the course of the enquiry into his guilt. To prevent commitment on frivolous grounds, it has been provided that the sanction of both the Imperial and Local Government, will be a pre-requisite for the trial of an offender under the new Act. This is, indeed, a wise arrangement. But there is one point which is open to

reasonable objection in the procedure that has been adopted, in that the evidence of a witness has been made admissible in the trial before the Special Bench, who has deposed at the Magisterial inquiry but subsequently dies or is absent and there are reasons to suppose that the death or absence was caused in the interests of the accused. This is too wide a divergence from the established principles of the Evidence Act. The accused will have no opportunity for cross examination in the preliminary enquiry by which the proper value of any testimony may be tested. Under such circumstances, it may not be unfairly and unreasonably urged that any untested testimony against them should not be accepted as legal evidence before the special tribunal. Be it, however, said to the credit of the Hon'ble Home Member, who is always actuated by lofty ideals that he has made every honest attempt to meet this complaint by saving clauses simply with a view to expedite such trials. As cases of this nature would be few and far between for reasons well-explained in the official statement, it might not practically lead to much mischief. Hence we do not think the measure is amenable to any objection as to its necessity in the present situation. The second part of the Act is intended to provide for the suppression of unlawful associations. It has recently transpired that many of these organisations, though seemingly harmless are not really so. They have been shown in several cases to entertain objects other than those they outwardly profess. In the face of this disclosure, the Government cannot be blamed if they take steps to subject them to strict surveillance, and to break them up, if found to encourage or aid the commission of acts of violence or intimidation, or declared unlawful by the Governor-General in Council. We hope the working of this provision will be in a cautious and judicious spirit, so that Associations that do not direct their activities to the fulfilment of anarchist ends, may not be affected by it to their prejudice but will be made secure from any hasty interference. The provision in the second part of the Act vests great powers in the hands of the Executive and we hope they will be wisely exercised. A great crisis has seized the fortunes of Bengal in the present times and the unrest that swells in the province or for the matter of that, in the whole country, should not be further accentuated by the enforcement of the Act in a relentless spirit. For the present, the Act is made applicable to the two provinces of Bengal, but if occasion arise, the Governor-General reserves to himself the right of extending it to any other part of the country. We are convinced that no cause of complaint will be given, if the operations of the Act are regulated with tact and judgment and in a spirit of sympathy and cautiousness. The net result of the new legislation, we hope, will be to simplify and accelerate the procedure in the trial of anarchists and to hasten the extinction of any organisation that has been set on foot to subserve unlawful objects. In the administration of the Act, we hope and trust with the Hon'ble Maharaja of Darbhanga, the innocent may not suffer with the guilty. It is worthy of note that the Act was passed with the absolute unanimity of the Indian non-official members of the Supreme Council. The Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, though supporting the policy of the Bill to whom we are glad the Viceroy has paid a well merited tribute, proposed amendments which the public would have been glad to find incorporated into the statute. As it is, however, we hope our countrymen in Western and Eastern Bengal will accord their hearty support to the efforts of the Government for the extirpation of the anarchism which has already assumed fearful proportions. Such co-operation was asked for by His Excellency the Viceroy and we make no doubt it will be readily given by our countrymen. The path of the Government should by all means be made smooth in its present course to grapple successfully with anarchism.

"The commendable but firm attitude taken up by the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon'ble Law Member and Home Member on this measure is all that could be desired, towards advancement of the real welfare of the country. The people of Bengal should take due warning from the strong expressions used by Sir Edward Baker, that His Honour will spare no effort to enforce the law rigorously. His Honour rightly remarked that if its provisions fail to bring about the desired result, he will make no hesitation to ask for more powers to enable him to stamp out the evils of

anarchism altogether. Taking into account the present state of unrest, Sir Edward Baker who has intimate knowledge of Bengal which, coupled with his exemplary abilities and strength of mind, make him well-fitted to speak with authority on every momentous question, is perfectly justified in giving due expression to his firm resolve to uproot the evil by sounding the note of alarm referred to. This, we believe, will have the effect of opening the eyes of the anarchist party to the disastrous consequences that might ensue if they were not to mend their ways and desist from doing what they ought not to do in the interest of their motherland. We strongly appeal to every one of our countrymen to co-operate with Government in the present crisis by all means, to check the inroads of anarchism than which there could not be a greater disaster to the country. It cannot fail to be the height of statesmanship on the part of our countrymen, if they could shape their movements and work in co-operation with Government in such a way as to put down the evil successfully and thereby to make the new law a dead letter altogether. We beseech them in the name of their country, if they have the least spark of patriotism in their heart of hearts, to lose no time and energies to join hands with Government towards the practical accomplishment of this noble and patriotic task.

AMRITA BASAR
PATRIKA,
14th Dec. 1908.

1268. The *Amrita Basar Patrika* has the following:—

The Special Legislation.

"The long-expected 'special weapons' for putting down anarchism in the land, to which reference was made in Lord Minto's Lucknow speech, are now before us. It was Ordinance first; then came the Public Meetings Prevention Act; then the Explosives Act; then the Incitement to Murder Act; and now we have two more in the shape of (1) a Bench of three Judges of the High Court for the speedy trial of certain political offences, and (2) the suppression of unlawful Samities or associations. We have sincere respect for the Home Member, Sir Harvey Adamson. What a pity the introduction of such measures should devolve upon his shoulders. We do not suggest for a moment that the Government should not put down anarchy. But, as we have said over and over again, anarchy being presumably confined to a knot of youths, the existing law was quite sufficient to suppress it and the new measures which upset the whole course of British Justice were hardly necessary.

"The 'Ordinance' was introduced in May 1907, on the ground that there was 'acute disorder' in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal. Six months after we were told that, not only had it failed in those two provinces but it had also led the people in other parts of India to make persistent attempts to preach sedition and break the public peace by assembling in public meetings. Now, if the people had really become so unruly and the Ordinance had failed to control them, the reasonable course was to replace it by some other really effective measure. But, no, the very Ordinance, which had failed, was perpetuated in a general law in the shape of the Public Meetings Prevention Act in October 1907!

"Similarly, the Public Meetings Prevention Act was justified on the ground of 'danger to the public tranquillity.' But unfortunately for the country before another six months had passed away the public tranquillity was disturbed in an outrageous manner by a small knot of young fanatics whose minds had evidently been unhinged. Thus, this measure also failed in its object and was followed by a greater danger to the public tranquillity.

"Then when the bomb conspiracy was discovered in May last, the Explosives Act was passed, and this was followed by the Incitement to Murder Act. The people expected that these would be the last of repressive measures and would serve the purpose. Now we have got one more measure. We sincerely hope this will serve the purpose for which it has been enacted. We await the result. It is, however, a fact that a fanatic, who is not afraid of the gallows or can pitilessly take the life of another under the wrong notion that he is thereby doing a meritorious act, does not care whether he is sentenced speedily, or after a protracted trial, to be hanged. As regards the suppression of Samities, why, those who encourage and frequent secret societies, can have nothing or little to do with any such public or semi-public association, for the simple reason that those who are intent on doing nefarious deeds always work in darkness and avoid light.

"In our humble opinion, as we have said again and again in these columns, drastic measures are not the real remedy against the evil. Judging from Sir Harvey Adamson's speech, it seems, that the authorities are under the impression that there are men of substance who are leading young lads astray and using them for nefarious purposes. If such were really the case the fact was bound to ooze out. Sir Harvey quotes a letter, which purports to have been written to him by an Eastern Bengal man in which the condition of the country has been described in a manner which must be news to every one. We do not know who the Hon'ble Home Member's informant is, but it is hard to believe that the members of public Samities or associations 'are a terror of the country; that they commit dacoities, set fire to houses, kidnap boys, commit murders, and in fact, there is nothing in the list of crimes they would be ashamed of.'

"We submit that the present unrest can be remedied by a sympathetic and conciliatory policy. By all means punish the offenders, but, let not the general public suffer for the faults of a few miscreants. Would the higher authorities rely on police reports alone in their actions, reports which have been found to be not always correct? The procedure, now to be adopted with regard to a certain class of political offences, is likely to prejudice the accused very much and may lead them to believe that it will stand in the way of their securing impartial justice. But it was Sir H. Adamson himself who uttered these noble words: 'British rule rests upon the bed-rock of impartial justice nay, not only should justice be impartially administered but it should be above reproach.'

"The Government seems to be in temper now. Repressive measures are being adopted to suppress the present unrest. In the opinion of the Government the anarchism that is unfortunately rampant to-day is a widespread one. It does not believe in the fact that it is confined to a few misguided youths. In short the loyalty of the Bengali nation is, in a manner, questioned. We can only regret such an unwarrantable conclusion and request the Government to seriously consider the situation. We do not deny that there is unrest in the land, but we emphatically protest against the belief that anarchism is general in the country or that it has got support from the educated or uneducated classes in general. Whatever unrest there exists at present has been produced by the Government of Lord Curzon in totally ignoring the united voice of the people of Bengal and thrusting the partition of the province down their unwilling throats. We, therefore, humbly submit that conciliation and sympathy should now be adopted by the Government. The root cause of this unrest should be removed."

1269. The *Indian Nation* writers:—

The Special Legislation.

"The long-expected law for the repression of anarchism has at last been passed. It must have come as an agreeable surprise to many, for an impression had got abroad that some measure of a Draconic character was being forged. The text of the new Act is published elsewhere in our columns. It does not appear to contain anything that can be called drastic. It is divided in two parts. The first provides for a speedy trial of political offences by a special tribunal. This part of the law has reference only to procedure, and it is impossible to complain that the procedure provided would be unfair to the accused. The preliminary inquiry will indeed be secret and summary, but the trial will be held by a Court that will challenge criticism, namely one consisting of three Judges of the High Court. The accused will lose little by the absence of a jury. Durga Churan Sanyal had the benefit of a trial by jury. The majority of the jury gave a verdict in his favour, but that did not save him from jail. Where a trial is held by a Sessions Judge with the aid of a jury, the final decision may still rest with the High Court, and therefore no complaint need be made that where a case is to be tried by three High Court Judges sitting together, they are not to be assisted by a Jury, and their decision shall not be subject to appeal. The secrecy of the preliminary inquiry has been necessitated probably by a desire to save witnesses from persecution and from the risk of being tampered with. The only rule which seems to break a fundamental principle of law is that which allows the untested evidence of a witness to be accepted, where having deposed

INDIAN NATION.
14th Dec. 1908.

before the Magistrate he dies before the trial, but the Court may not accept such evidence unless it is shown that the death of the witness has been caused in the interest of the accused. The second part of the Act empowers the executive to suppress unlawful associations and punish members and helpers thereof. The phrase "unlawful association" has been defined. Large powers in the hands of the executive are always viewed with jealousy, but when it is remembered that the executive authority that will deal with unlawful associations is the Governor-General in Council, and not a Sub-Inspector of Police, no fear need be entertained that the power will be recklessly or unfairly used. The Act, therefore, all things considered, cannot be called a harsh measure, or one which imperils the safety of innocent men in the attempt to reach and punish the guilty. It can hardly be called coercive except in so far as every criminal law may be called coercive."

BENGALUR,
18th Dec. 1908.

1270. The *Bengalee* declares that the most objectionable part of the new law is that relating to the *Samities*. "If there are 'associations' in any part of the country which encourage or commit acts of violence, no sane man will blame Government for taking steps to suppress them. What we complain of in the new law is that it leaves the expression 'unlawful associations' practically undefined and arms the police with large, indeed, extraordinary powers. In our opinion a far better course for the Government would have been to omit or considerably modify sub-section (a) of section (2) of the Second Part. The public ought surely to be afforded an opportunity of knowing that a particular association is regarded as unlawful by the Government, before they can make up their minds not to have anything to do with it. Even the limited section of the public who do belong to an association ought to be afforded such an opportunity. If the Government were thinking only of secret societies, the same objection would not arise. But evidently they are not thinking of secret societies at all, but of associations which have been in existence for months, it may be years together and which Government itself was not in a position to suppress before the enactment of the new law, presumably because they were not doing anything which, before such enactment, could be proved to be illegal. We ask if the Government had its difficulty, could the public, could any section of the public be blamed, because they supported or were otherwise connected with such associations, completely in ignorance of the fact that the associations were unlawful? The new law, it is worthy of note, imposes a penalty upon the membership of such associations as such. In vain did Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh urge that membership might, in many cases, be based upon absolute ignorance of the unlawful character of the associations, supposing that they had such a character. What Dr. Ghosh evidently meant to say was that it was conceivable that certain associations, that it to say, the leading members thereof, were guilty of acts which the new law forbids; but where was the proof that they had taken the bulk of their members into confidence or that they had not persuaded people to support them under a false plea? Would it be just to punish men merely because they happen to be members of an association which the Government itself has so far done nothing to discourage or suppress and which it may not even now choose to declare as unlawful, supposing that they had no reason to suspect the unlawful character of the associations? Sir Harvey Adameon's contention that it would always be open to such men to prove their innocence is absolutely untenable. If the Government itself, with its immense resources in men and money, shirks the responsibility of proving men's guilt, is it fair to expect that the members of an association would always or generally be able to prove their innocence? Under the circumstances we appeal to Government even now to modify or keep in abeyance sub-section (a) of section (2) of the Second Part, which defines an unlawful association merely as one 'which encourages or aids persons to commit acts of violence or intimidation or of which the members habitually commit such acts,' and to begin the operation of the new Act by declaring such associations as in its opinion are violating the law of the land to be 'unlawful.' That is the least the Government can do if they do not want to see the country, at any rate, certain parts of it, turned topsy-turvy by an over-zealous Police."

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

1271. The *Indian Mirror* declares that the present state of the country and the sufferings of the people are due to the neglect of religious teachings, and that nothing can save them or guide them aright at this critical time than their religion. It is a crying shame that while there is an increasing yearning after Buddhism all over the West, the people of India are trampling it under their feet.

INDIAN MIRROR
10th Dec. 1908.

1272. Commenting on an article in the *Statesman* in which that journal attributes violence to boycott, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes:—

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
10th Dec. 1908.

"In another issue, the *Statesman* attributes violence to boycott. It is, however, not correct to say that boycott has been attended with violence. As long as the people were left free to act in the pursuit of the boycott movement and the police did not poke their nose into it, there were no criminal cases and no ill-feeling. But the police evidently thought that they would please the authorities by stopping this boycott movement; and hence a serious attempt was made to discredit it. No body can object to the preaching that Indians should not use foreign goods in preference to their own, when every nation in the world has used such means to improve their own industries. Of course the boycott movement should be condemned if it were based on the principle of violence or led to unconstitutional acts. It is only a blind and prejudiced opponent who can bring such a charge against the one inaugurated in Bengal and other parts of India. Why, its clear object is to help the development of the indigenous industries." Continuing the journal says:—

"The *Statesman*, by its anti-Indian sentiments, is, however, doing one good service by revealing the true character of the forthcoming gathering of a number of "notables" at Madras. Any one going through its articles will see that the Madras Congress is more an Anglo-Indian than an Indian organization. The Chowringhee paper is so gratified at the way it is going to be conducted that it actually asks the Indians to attend it and thereby show that they 'are the friends of British rule.' And who are its enemies? 'Surely those who join the other Congress at Nagpur' is the reply of the *Statesman*. The Madras Congress is thus a movement after the heart of certain Anglo-Indians, between whom and the Indians, generally speaking, there is not much love lost!"

OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL
BRANCH,
41, PARK STREET,
The 19th December 1908.

G. C. DENHAM,
Spl. Asst. to the Depy. Insp.-Genl.
of Police, Crime and Railways, Bengal.

